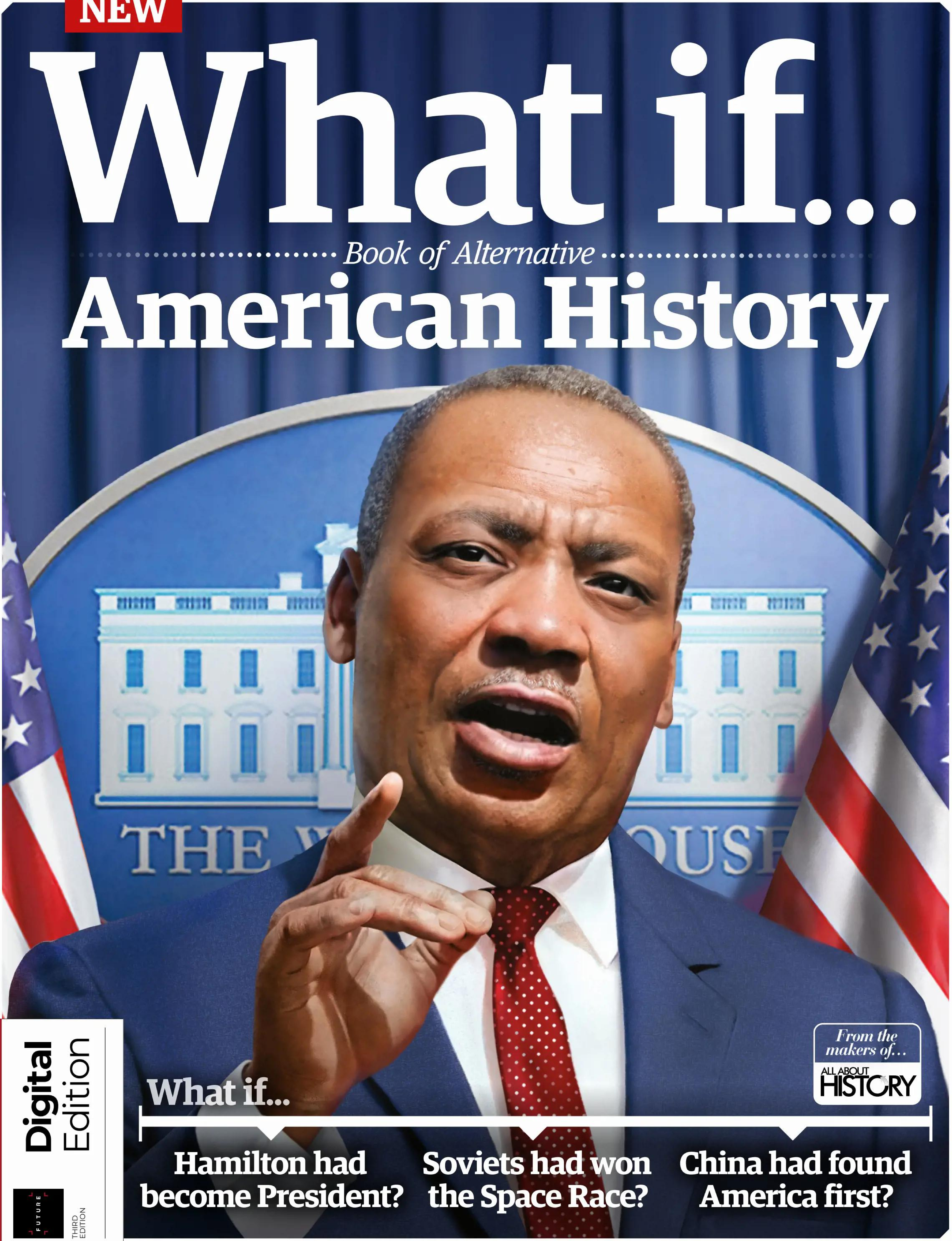
NEW

What if...

Book of Alternative

American History



From the makers of...
ALL ABOUT HISTORY

What if...

Hamilton had become President?

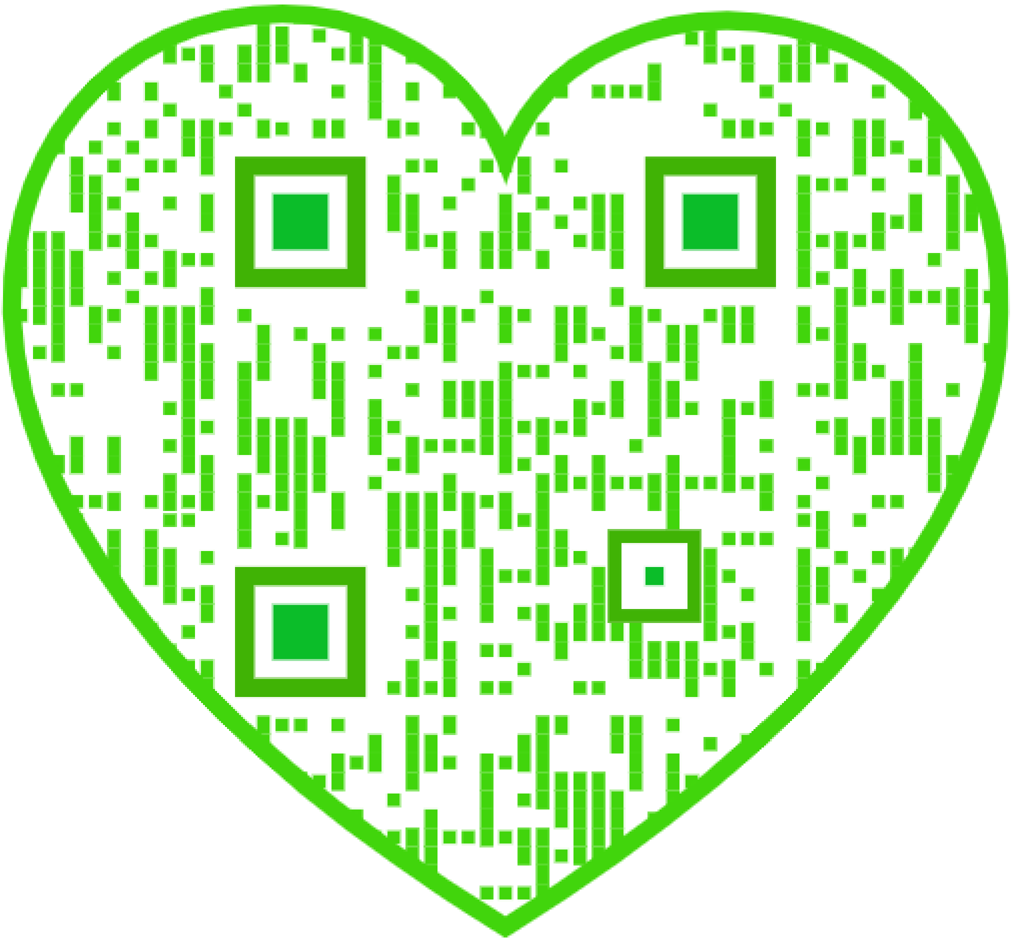
Soviets had won the Space Race?

China had found America first?

Digital Edition

FUTURE

THIRD EDITION



Welcome to

What if...

Book of Alternative

American History

We have all had those burning 'What if' questions when it comes to history, wondering about the many roads not taken. What if China had discovered America first? What if the American Revolution had never happened? What if President John F. Kennedy had survived his assassination? In What If...Book of Alternative American History, we explore the potential answers to these fascinating counterfactual questions and many more. From wars and battles to power and politics, join us as we discover what may have happened if key moments in American history had gone differently.

FUTURE

What if...
Book of Alternative
American History

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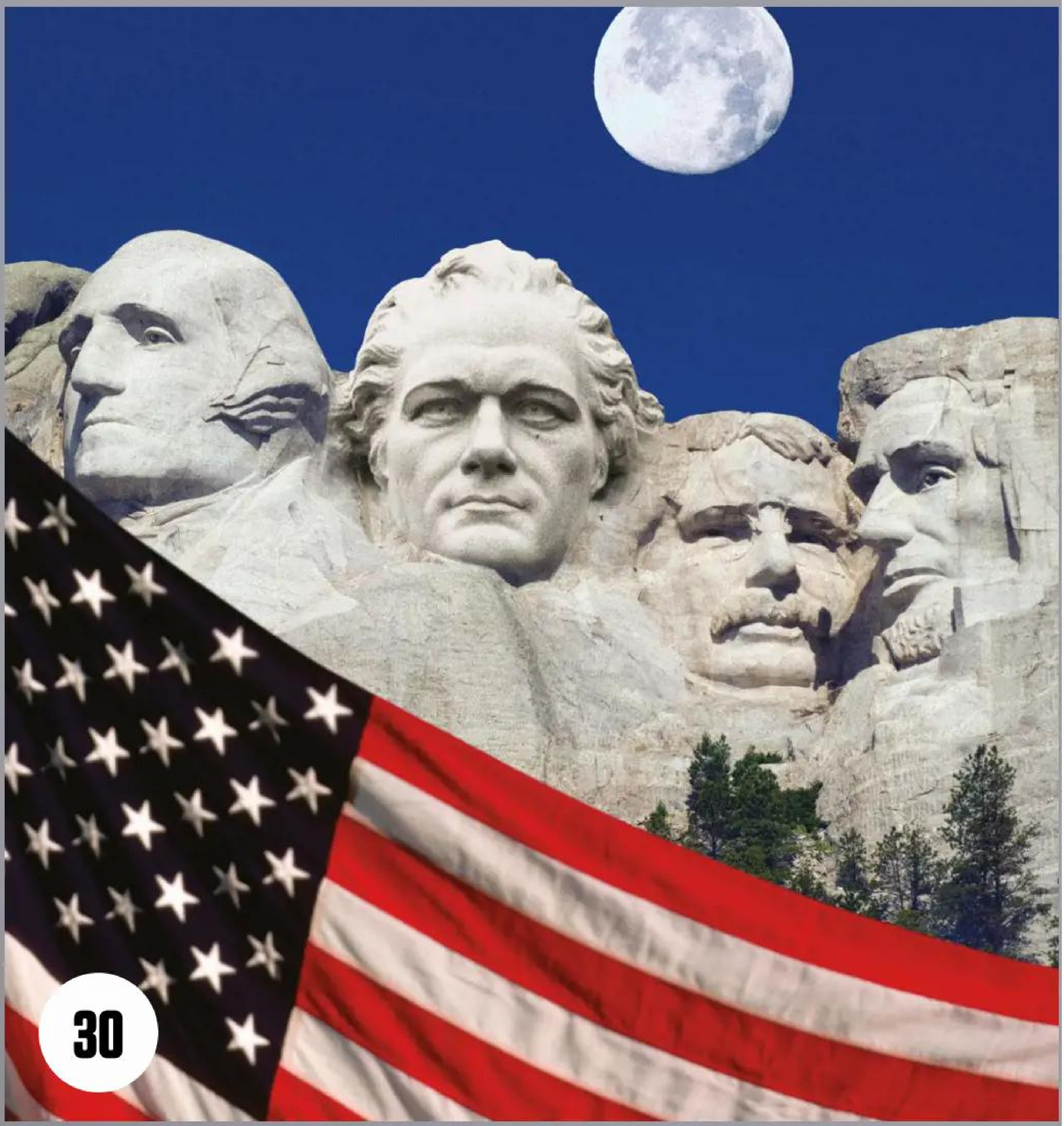

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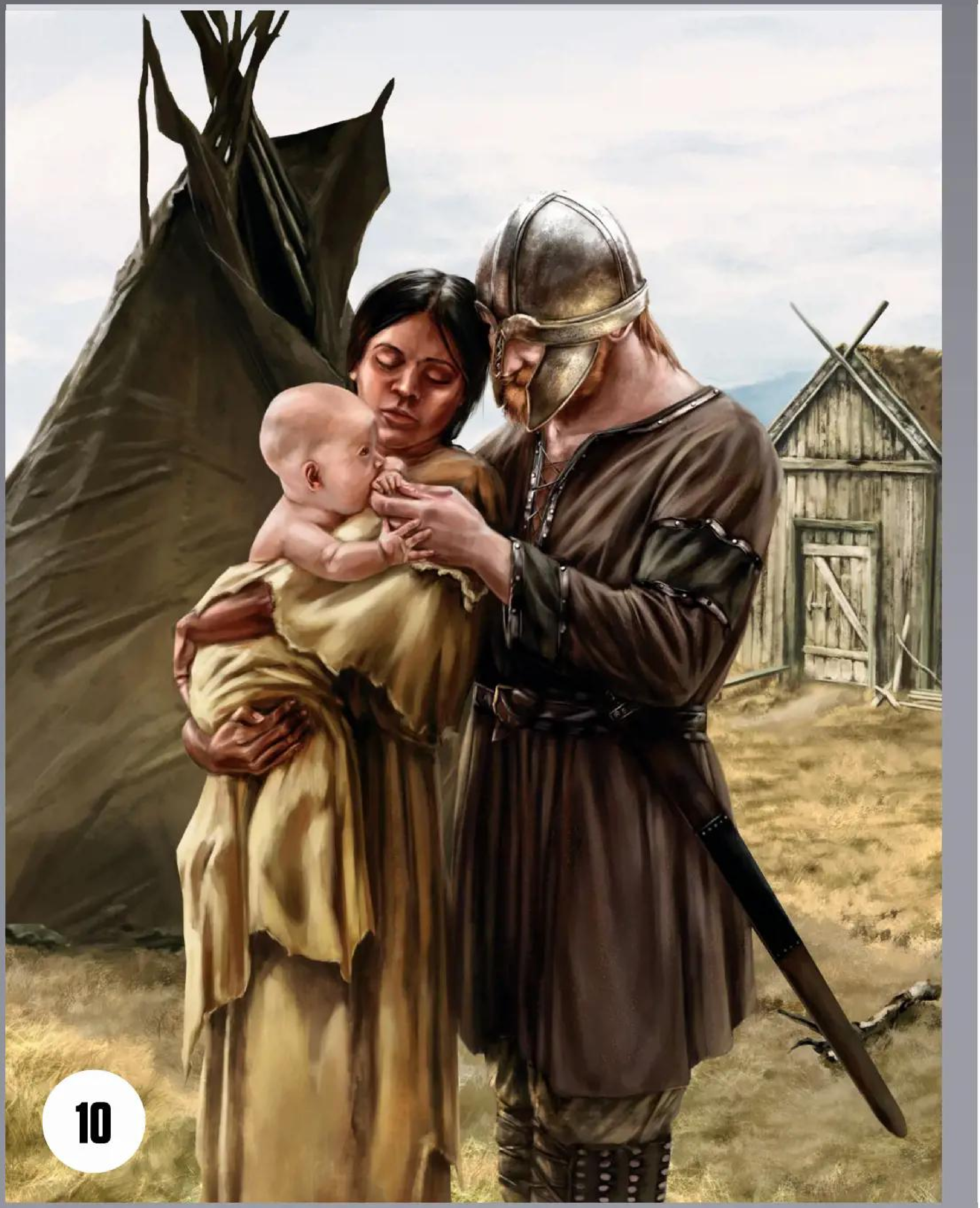

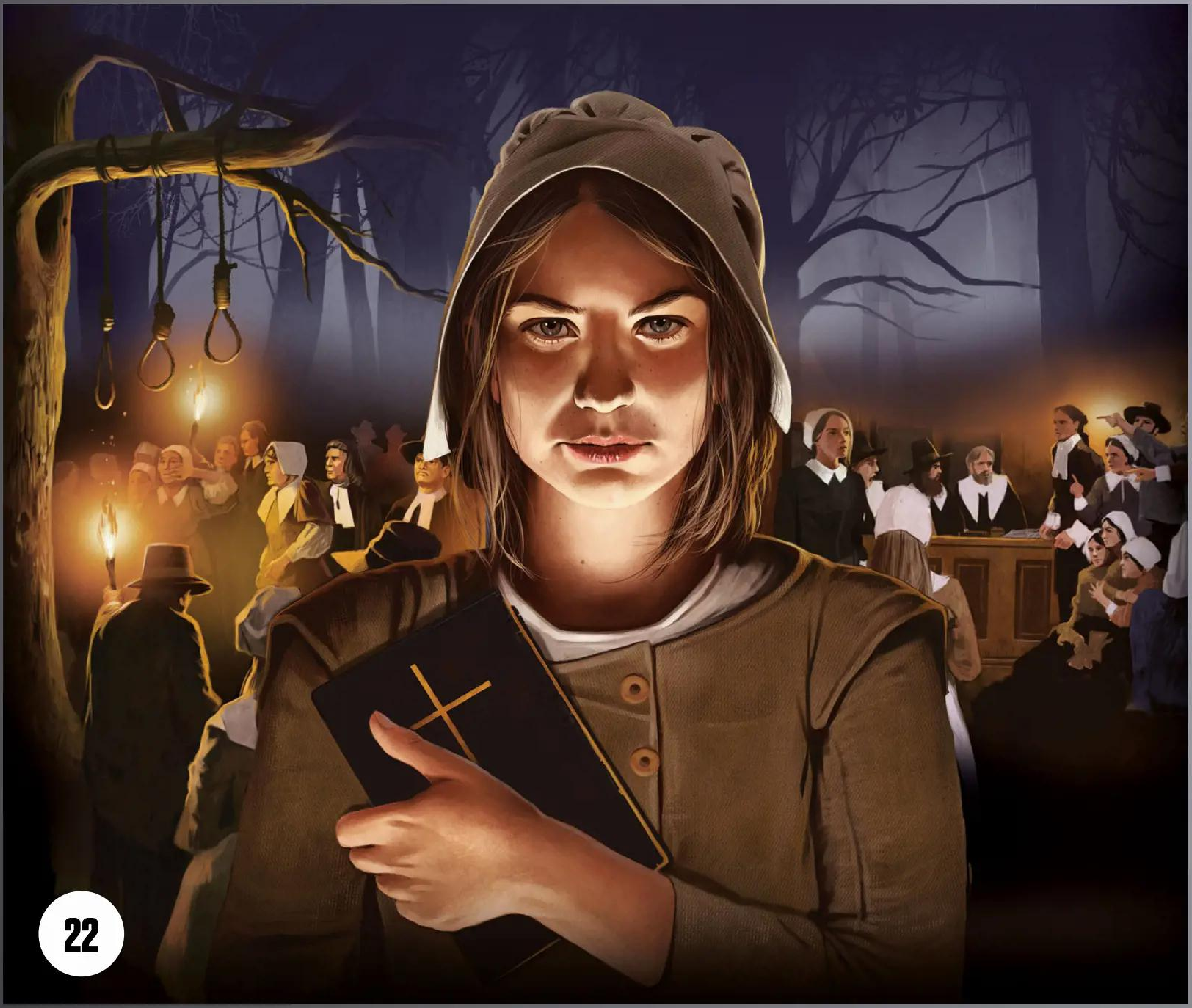

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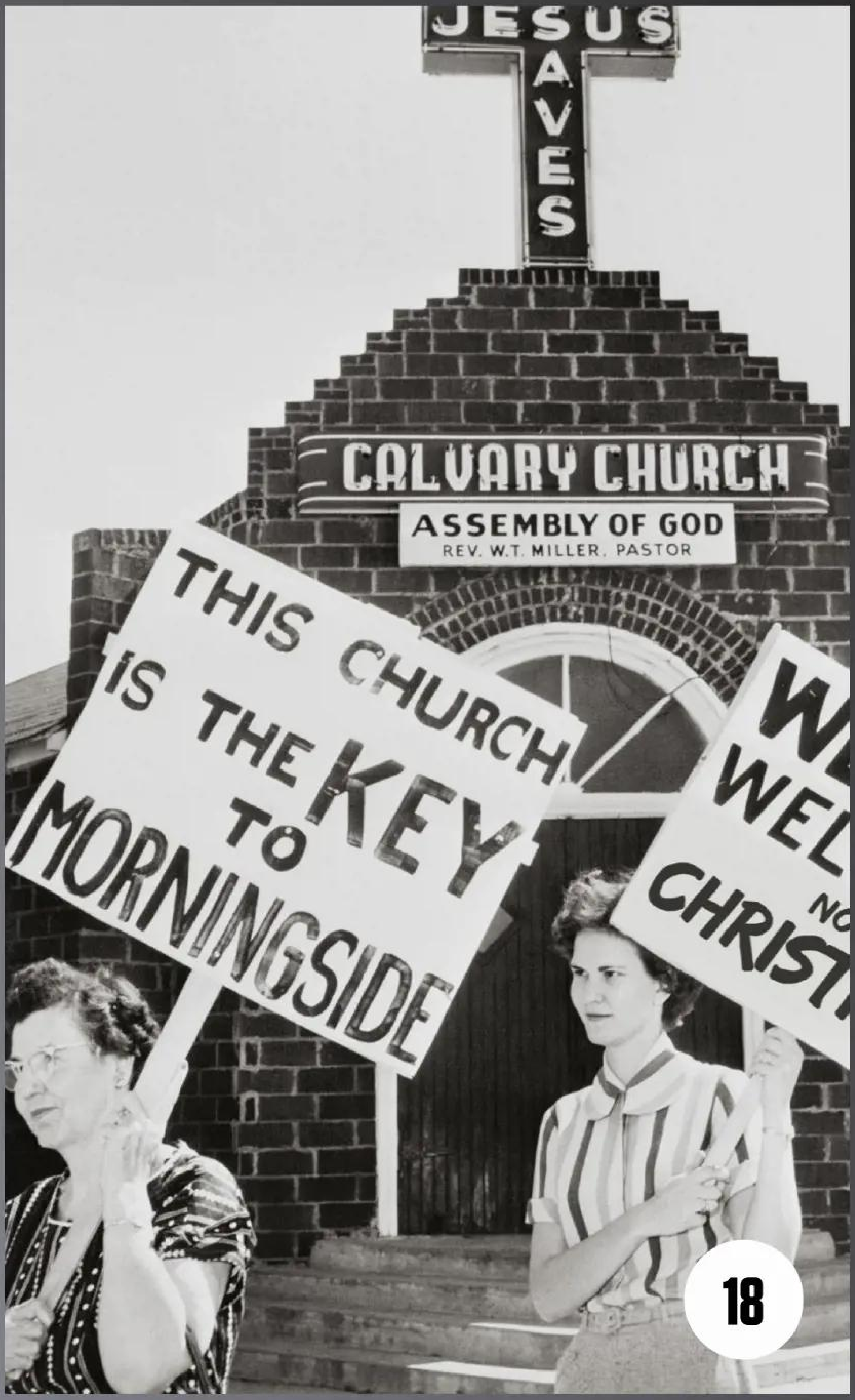
JESUS SAVES
CALVARY CHURCH
ASSEMBLY OF GOD
REV. W.T. MILLER, PASTOR
THIS CHURCH IS THE KEY TO MORNINGSIDE
WE WEL NO CHRIST
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What if… The Vikings had colonised North America?

Viking settlements may have flourished centuries before the arrival of European colonisers

INTERVIEW WITH… PHILIP PARKER

Author and historian Philip Parker studied History at Cambridge University, UK, and provides historical and editorial consultancy services to a number of publishers. He has written widely on the Middle Ages and the ancient world. His 2014 book was the critically acclaimed, *Sunday Times* best-seller *The Northmen's Fury: A History Of The Viking World*, which traces 500 years of exploration and culture of the legendary Norse tribes, who ranged from Scandinavia to the Russian Steppes in the east and as far as Newfoundland in the west.

What if the Vikings had colonised North America?

If the Viking colony in North America had survived and prospered, it's hard to believe it could have been kept a complete secret for several centuries. Columbus's expedition of 1492 made landfall much further south, in the Caribbean, but those sent out by the English and French in the late-15th and early-16th century – such as that of John Cabot in 1497 – went further north. In the early stages of European colonisation, the French and English largely settled in different areas, but later on, North America saw clashes between them, which aggravated the rivalry between the two countries. It is quite possible a similar situation might occur regarding thriving Scandinavian colonies; eventually competition with other European settlements would have grown intense, which might have led to war.

Is there any reason to think Viking camps could not have thrived in the New World?

The Viking Sagas tell us that the Norsemen made landfall in North America in regions populated by Native Americans (whom they called 'Skraelings'). The large numbers of natives compared to the relatively small numbers of Vikings caused them to withdraw. However, the one undoubted Viking settlement we do know about, at L'Anse aux Meadows in Newfoundland, was occupied at a time when there is no archaeological trace of Native American settlement in the vicinity. A large number of Vikings might potentially, therefore, have been able to establish camps and farms that prospered in areas where the Native American population was sparse.

To do so, they would have required a larger influx of population than the small Viking settlement on Greenland (of no more than 4,000-5,000 people) could provide, but if word had spread back further east to Iceland and Scandinavia itself about a land offering rich new possibilities for settlement, it might have been possible to attract a suitable number of migrants [to settle and flourish].

There is some evidence of Viking contact – peaceful and otherwise – with the indigenous peoples. If Leifur Eiriksson had stuck around and the settlement of Vinland had grown, how do you think their relationship would have evolved?

In many regions where the Vikings raided and settled, they were faced with more or less organised states (such as Alba in Scotland and Northumbria, Mercia and Wessex in England), which already had urban communities and some kind of appointed royal officials. This enabled them to take over existing administrative structures and to rule over wide areas. In North America this would not have been the case, but a situation like that in Russia and Ukraine – where the Vikings established urban trading settlements that collected tribute from surrounding Slav tribes – might have developed.

What effect would the Norse have had on their culture?

In Russia, the Scandinavian and Slav cultures ultimately merged to create the medieval Russian principalities. In North America, the cultural differences between Native Americans and Vikings would probably have been too deep to allow this to happen easily. The Vikings remained at a distance from non-Norse peoples, such as Inuit in Greenland and from the Saamior Lapps in northern Scandinavia, so they would probably have done the same in North America. Once the Vikings became Christian, this might have had an impact on Native American culture, with some groups accepting the new

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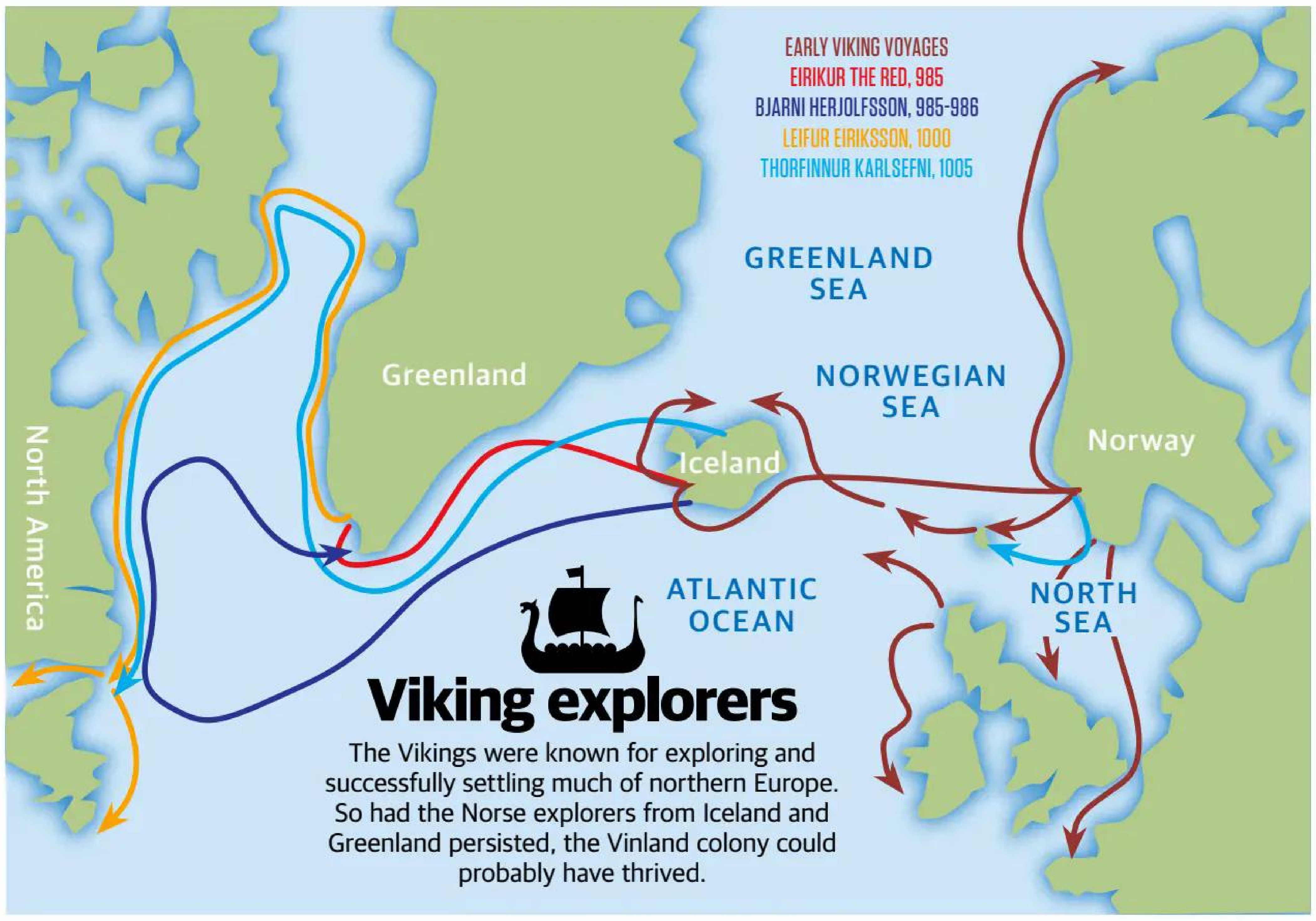
"There might have been a kind of 'United States', but Norwegian- or Swedish-speaking"

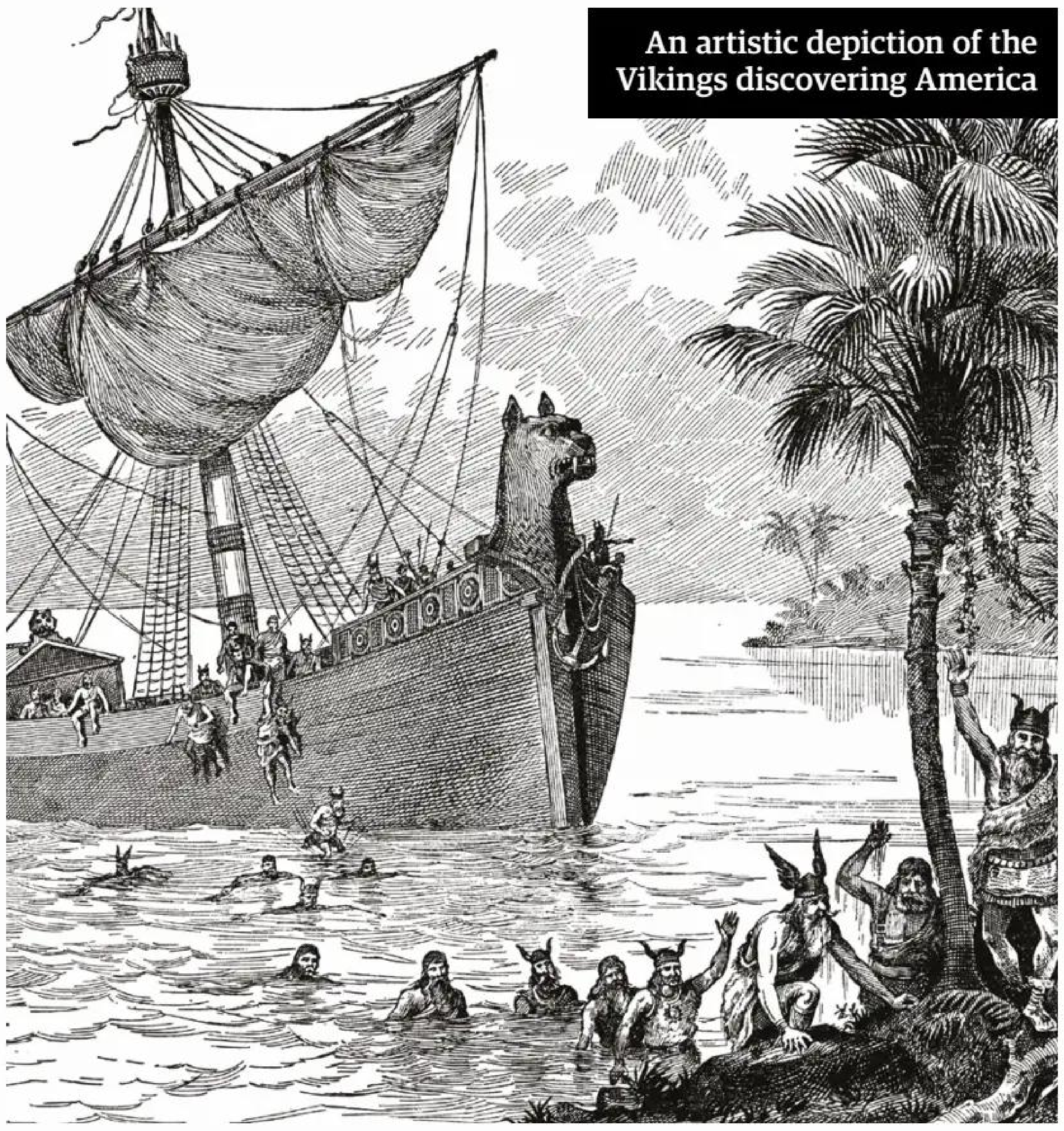
The Vikings may well have ultimately integrated with Native Americans had they stayed in America

© Ian Hinley



Viking explorers

The Vikings were known for exploring and successfully settling much of northern Europe. So had the Norse explorers from Iceland and Greenland persisted, the Vinland colony could probably have thrived.



An artistic depiction of the Vikings discovering America

> "If word had spread back to Iceland and Scandinavia, it might have been possible to attract a suitable number of migrants"

religion. As in many situations where groups face threatening outsiders, there might have been a consolidation of tribal groups into larger confederacies – as happened during the 17th and 18th centuries after the European colonisation of the eastern seaboard.

How would a separate colony in the New World have affected Old World Norse culture?

The Vikings were a fairly conservative lot culturally. In Greenland, they continued to try to farm much as they had done in Scandinavia, even though the climate and land was less suitable. In North America, they might have learnt some new agricultural techniques from the Native Americans, such as the cultivation of maize. If the colony had thrived and grown in number, this would have changed the political balance with Scandinavia, allowing the other North Atlantic colonies, such as Iceland and Greenland, to grow further and become more independent. Both of those lacked wood for building houses and ships, and North America would have been able to provide them it in abundance.

How do you think the introduction and regular trade of certain goods, crops, wood, animal pelts and so on, have changed the Old World economy?

The quantities of any given trade good that could be traded across the Atlantic could never have been particularly great, and not enough to make a significant difference to the Old World economy. Some pelts might have acquired 'exotic' status and become prized trade items among the rich. If the Vikings had somehow spread far enough to come into contact with

How would it be different?

Real timeline

800

Leaving Scandinavia
Some time around the late 8th and early 9th centuries, the Vikings begin to explore beyond Scandinavia. Initial discoveries include Great Britain.
800

Land of Ice
The discovery of the Shetland Islands and the Faroe Islands encourage the Vikings to sail further northwest, where they come across Iceland. Scandinavian culture endures and thrives there today.
870

Leifur Eiriksson is born
By the time the Norse explorer Leifur Eiriksson is born in Iceland, the Vikings have already established a colony in Greenland. The names are a misnomer designed to compel would-be settlers from Scandinavia to search further afield – Iceland is warmer and has more resources than Greenland.
970

Leifur leaves
At the age of 17, Leifur is banished from Iceland just like his father, who had been banished along with his family from Norway for manslaughter. Leifur heads west to settle the first permanent colony in Greenland.
986

To the motherland
Leifur sails back for Norway where he converts to Christianity. Some think it's here he hears the story of a merchant, Bjarni Herjolfsson, who had seen land to the west of Greenland.
999

Real timeline

Alternate timeline

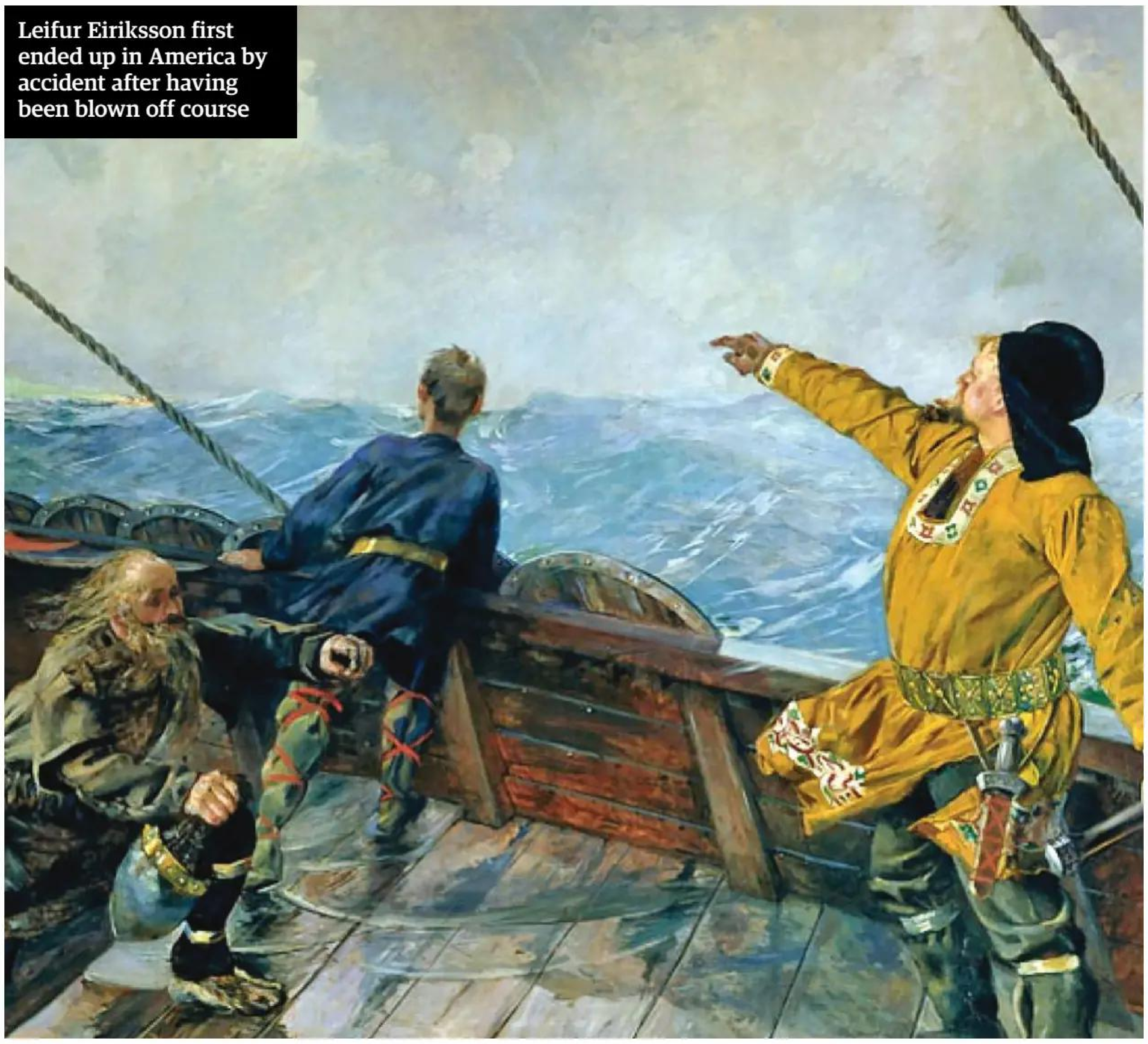
the civilisations of Mesoamerica, this might have changed as some items -the potato in particular - ultimately made a huge impact on the nutritional intake of the poor in Europe.

Was the Norse discovery of the New World inevitable? Would other Norsemen have made it to the New World if it wasn't for Leifur?
The discovery by Leifur Eiriksson - or Bjarni Herjolfsson, who is credited with it in some sources - seems to have been an accident, but the chances of being blown off course from Greenland, where there was an established Viking settlement, to the North American coast around Newfoundland or Labrador is actually fairly high, and in the 450-year life span of the Greenland colony, this is likely to have occurred sooner or later.

What was the legacy of Leifur's journey and the Vinland colony? If the Norsemen had stayed, could you say what impact that would have had on American culture in the far future, say around the time of US independence? Perhaps the US wouldn't even exist?
The United States came into being because a growing and increasingly prosperous colonial population sought more say in the way they were governed. The physical distance between them and the European mother countries made this practical to achieve. The distance between Iceland and Norway enabled the Viking colony there to remain independent from Scandinavia for over two centuries, and the much greater travel time to North America could well have fostered a similarly independent colony.

The fierce individuality of the Icelandic Vikings, who dispensed with the rule of kings and established the world's first parliamentary assembly, might even have been mirrored in North America, where the colonists could have been just as antipathetic to royal rule as the American Revolutionaries in the 1770s. Who knows, there might have been a kind of 'United States', but a Norwegian- or Swedish-speaking one.

By populating America 500 years earlier, do you think we would be seeing a much more populous American country today?


Leifur Eiriksson first ended up in America by accident after having been blown off course

The population growth of medieval Europe was comparatively slow before the Industrial Revolution, and suffered huge periodic set-backs such as the Black Death in the 14th century, which killed around a third of the continent's people. When you add this to the impact of the actual European settlement in the Americas in the 15th and 16th centuries, when a large proportion of the Native American population fell victim to diseases (such as influenza) against which they had no natural immunity, then a Viking colony in America that survived would probably not have led to a population of North America that was greatly different to the level we see today.

Fate intervenes
On his way back to Greenland, Leifur and his crew are blown off course and discover the new land to the west. He returns to Greenland to mount an expedition.
999

Exploring the New World
Amply supplied and with a crew of 35, Leifur returns to Newfoundland, where he discovers and names several new places. They find fertile land with wheat fields and grape vines, which Leifur calls Vinland. The party eventually returns home to Greenland.
1001

Columbus's voyage
Nearly 500 years pass before the known voyage to the New World, when Christopher Columbus makes his first landfall far to the south of Vinland, in the Bahamas.
1492

British dominance
By the mid-18th century, the British have laid claim to most of Canada and eastern parts of what is now the United States, but that is to change with one significant event.
1750

American revolution
The Declaration of Independence is signed by the second continental congress in July 1776 and in the same year, it forces the British out of Boston. By 1783, the United States have fully separated from Great Britain.
1776

Canadian independence
Canada's road to independence is longer and more diplomatic than the US's: the three colonies gain autonomy in 1867 and less than a century later, Britain grants them full independence.
1931

Vinland settled
Pleased with the new, fertile and bountiful land he has discovered, Leifur Eiriksson brings his winter camp down to the new land to establish a permanent colony.
1001

Viking missionaries
The Newfoundland colonies have grown and prospered, but the indigenous peoples and the Vikings have given each other a wide berth until now. Christian missionaries move among the tribes, spreading their new faith.
1200

Tribal outrage
The threat to native culture from these Norse settlers is becoming more apparent, so some of the 'skraelings' consolidate to protect themselves and their way of life.
1400

Complicated states
By the time the British have entrenched themselves in the New World, the Norse settlers have already staked their claim on large swathes of the land. War is brewing in America.
1750

Colonial war
The Norse colonists refuse to relinquish their grasp on their long-held territory. The British are too arrogant and powerful to recognise the independence of the Norwegians. A bitter territorial war ensues. **1800**

What if… China had discovered America first?

Could Zheng He, China's greatest explorer, have reached the New World before the Europeans?

INTERVIEW WITH…
DR KENT DENG

Dr Kent Deng is a professor of economic history at the London School of Economics. He is an expert in Chinese maritime history and has written numerous publications on the voyages and expeditions of Zheng He, including his impact on Chinese history and the nature of his travels.

Zheng He, born in 1371, is known as a great explorer during the Ming dynasty, undertaking seven voyages to distant lands. But who was he really?

He was a close advisor and a person in the inner circle of the second emperor of the Ming dynasty. He was officially a eunuch, meaning he was not a legitimate officer or official, and he later became an admiral of the Chinese Imperial Navy in his late 20s and early 30s. He ascended from very humble beginnings. Being the personal advisor of the emperor, he was in fact involved in a coup d'état, which was successfully plotted by his master, who then became the new emperor. His life is full of incidents, conspiracies and plots.

How did Zheng He rise to his position of admiral and what was happening in China at the time?

The first emperor of the Ming Dynasty [Zhu Yuanzhang, 1328-98] was a very capable and ambitious man and had climbed up from a leader of several armies against the Mongols. Eventually he not only defeated the Mongols but also united China. But once he became emperor, he had to find his successor among his sons and he wasn't happy with the choice. So he chose his grandson and jumped one generation [but there was a plot against him by one of his sons, Zhu Di, in 1402]. In that plot, Zheng He was one of the key advisors – that says a lot about him.

Zheng He is known to have travelled far and wide, but what were the purposes of his expeditions?

This is very controversial. The official line is that he did it for China to show off the country's soft and hard power. The former being diplomacy skills and traditions while the latter is showing off the navy by sailing record distances and visiting a record number of foreign destinations. But that was just what those in power put out there.

The unofficial line from my research is quite different. Why would the emperor send his key advisor overseas? My hunch is that Zheng He knew too much about the plot [against the Ming emperor], so Zhu Yuanzhang exiled him with dignity overseas. He continuously made seven voyages so that he would spend the rest of his adult life at sea, not coming back to China. He eventually died at sea, possibly on the way to Malacca [in Malaysia].

There are few records left on the exploits of Zheng He – what do we know about his expeditions from the limited information available?

He basically covered all possible or known destinations in the Indian Ocean. That was the only record. His logs were systematically destroyed by the Ming court, but so far as we know he went to several ports in India, the Persian Gulf and East Africa. He had several detachments so he actually sent his men away from his main forces to explore other possibilities.

He would have two detachments plus his own main force, so there would be three routes taken by his men at the same time. His fleet once had something like 200 vessels but if they all landed in any harbour they would fight for resources like fresh water and meat. It's better to have detachments so that the pressure on your land-based resources isn't that great. He would often control his own fleet with a dozen or so large ships and the rest of his men would take different routes to the rest of Asia.

During one of his voyages, is it possible he could he have gone to America by accident or otherwise?

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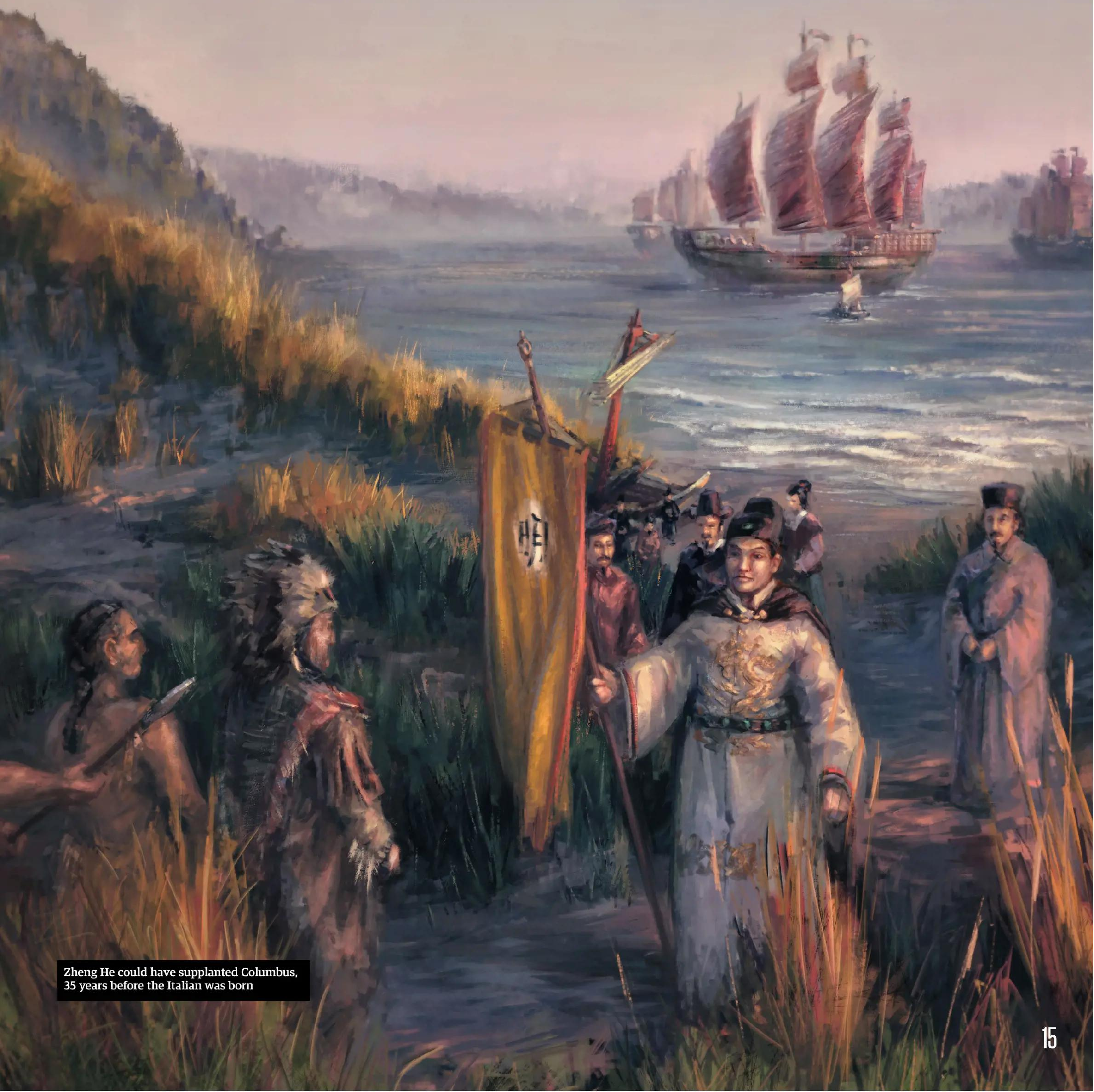
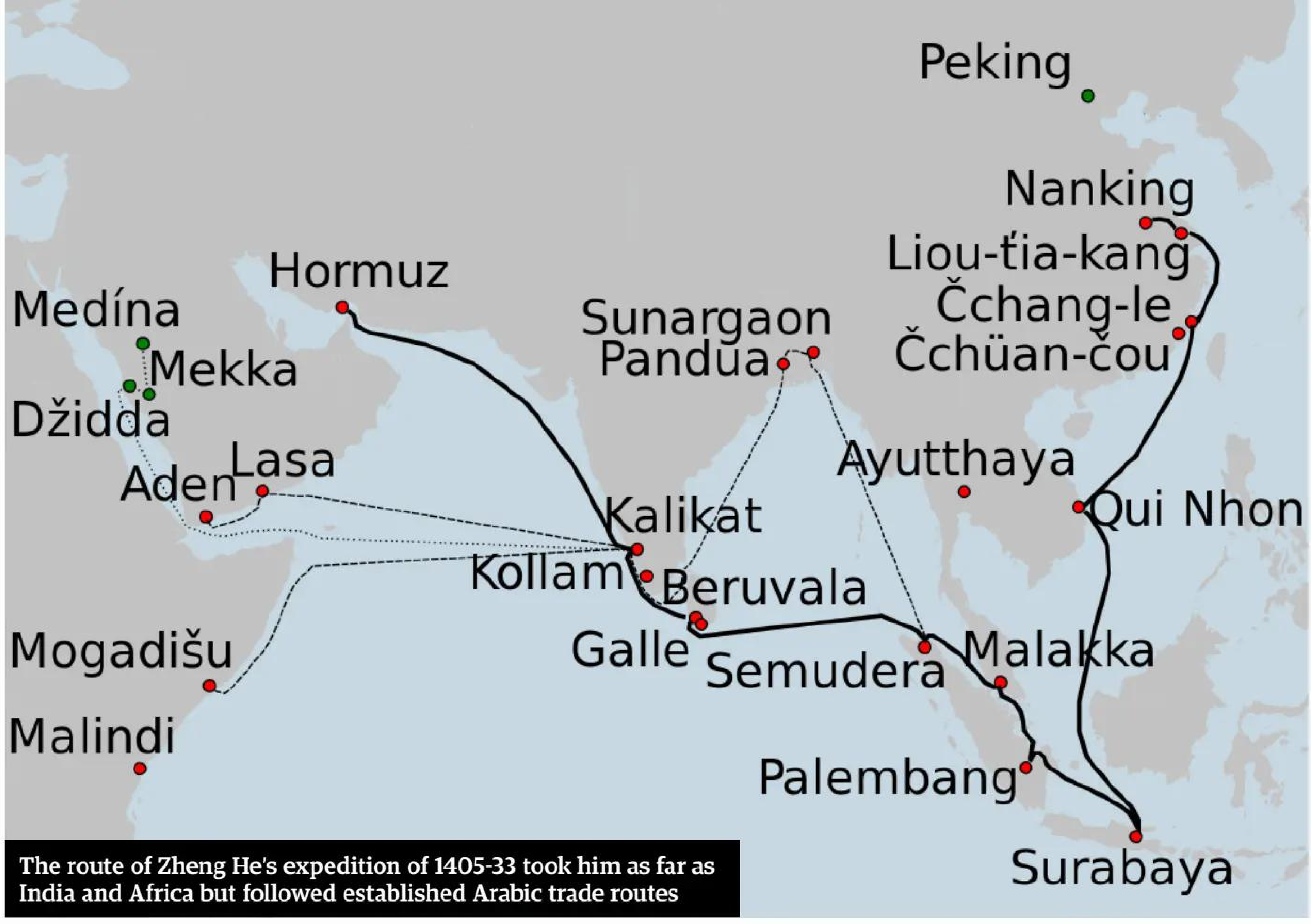
> "They would have had enough resources and know-how to take refuge in places like California"



Zheng He could have supplanted Columbus, 35 years before the Italian was born



The route of Zheng He's expedition of 1405-33 took him as far as India and Africa but followed established Arabic trade routes

Yes, technically it is a possibility. By sheer accident, they could have got lost and some of them maybe would have landed. It would probably take a long time, being forced by storms or currents, but they would have had enough resources and know-how to take refuge in places like California.

If Zheng He had discovered America, would it have changed his standing among people in China?
Probably not. He was not a real officer but a servant of the inner chamber of a Ming emperor. Moreover, he was not ethnically Chinese, he was Muslim, and he wasn't a member of the elite. People wouldn't listen to him.

How might Zheng He have reached America?
I would say not on purpose. By accident, anything can happen. It's possible he could have unintentionally gone to America on the furthest points of his voyages. Their longest leg of a single journey was close to 4,000 or 5,000 kilometres so with that kind of a capacity, they can probably manage to cross the Pacific Ocean.

However, the problem for them is that the ocean currents don't move across the Pacific, but from China to the seas of Japan, then from Japan to Alaska, from Alaska to Seattle, and from Seattle all the way to Mexico. If you want to ride from Mexico to China it's easy, but they would have a huge task to sail against the ocean current. If they tried to go to the Americas, the chances are they would probably wreck in Japan or Alaska.

If he didn't go to the West Coast, is there another way Zheng He could have reached America?
It took the Spaniards 60 years to learn how to return to Mexico from the Philippines. They had to travel through Malacca, all the way across the Atlantic Ocean. They had to circumnavigate the whole globe to go back to Mexico, so I wonder whether Zheng He and his men could have had that kind of knowledge.

There's a possibility for them to get completely lost after the Cape of Good Hope [in South Africa] and then enter the Atlantic, and then surely the ocean current would bring them to Central America. Then they would have had a good chance to return home from the other end [by travelling across the Pacific on the ocean currents].

What might have happened had he landed in America?
The Chinese sailors would do everything to return home – China offered individual and private land ownership so you can actually live very comfortably once you make money. You could buy land, become a landlord, plus you had family ties, and so they would have been really reluctant to establish another China or a colony outside of the empire. Most Chinese, 99 per cent, would have gone back to where they really belonged, with one exception – criminals.

I don't think that once the Chinese landed they would immediately start a new kingdom like the Europeans did. By the time of Zheng He, China had more than a 1,000-year-long history of private family-based property rights so people would always have returned.

How might the elite in China have reacted to the discovery of America?
We can only speculate about how news of the New World would have been greeted in China. Zheng He's fleet went to East Africa and brought a giraffe back to the Imperial Court – this was the closest to a new world that Zheng He got and

> "The Chinese sailors would do everything to return home"

How would it be different?

Real timeline

Overthrowing the emperor
Zhu Di leads a rebellion against his nephew and becomes the Yongle Emperor. Zheng He helps. **1402**

Exile at sea
Possibly as he knew too much about the coup, Zheng He is appointed admiral and is sent on a grand voyage away from China. **1405**

Arrives in India
With a fleet of 200 ships and about 27,000 men, Zheng He arrives in Calicut, India. **1406**

Real timeline

Further exploration
Zheng He returns home but is sent out again on more voyages to India, the Arabian Peninsula and East Africa. **1407**

Ocean burial
On his seventh and final voyage to Arabia and East Africa, Zheng He dies from disease and is buried at sea. **1433**

Alternate timeline

Lost at sea
A freak storm sends Zheng He and his entire fleet off course, ultimately causing them to sail across the Atlantic Ocean. **1407**

Age of discovery
Zheng He and his crew make landfall in America, reaching the New World long before Europe. **1408**

ordinary Chinese did not seem to care too much about his adventures. But although they would be unlikely to start a colony there, they might have been interested in meeting and trading with Native Americans.

Would a Chinese discovery of America change its history at all?
No, simply because the Chinese wouldn't have stayed. They would have probably got sweet potatoes and chilli and started a new business in China by growing and selling them. But a great empire – they just wouldn't have that incentive.

Would China have shared the news from this expedition with the rest of the world?
That I don't know. Zheng He was not popular in his time – he spent a lot of money from the Chinese treasury and brought back nothing to the empire to show for it. There was also a conservative school of very powerful people against him, so much so that once people in Beijing heard that he had died in his last voyage, they quickly decided this must be the end of all voyages. They burned all of Zheng He's logs, all of the records, and even went so far as to destroy their vessels and close the shipyards.

Inside China, his journeys were considered extravagant and very economically unreasonable, so for this reason there's no official record left of any of it. His two lieutenants wrote and published a personal account of their travels each and these were circulated among the Chinese elite. They were full of strange stories – for example, they say that on one island people only had one eye and it was on their forehead. I think the lieutenants were trying to make sailing for profit very attractive but no one really had the drive or ambition to go and find a new land themselves.

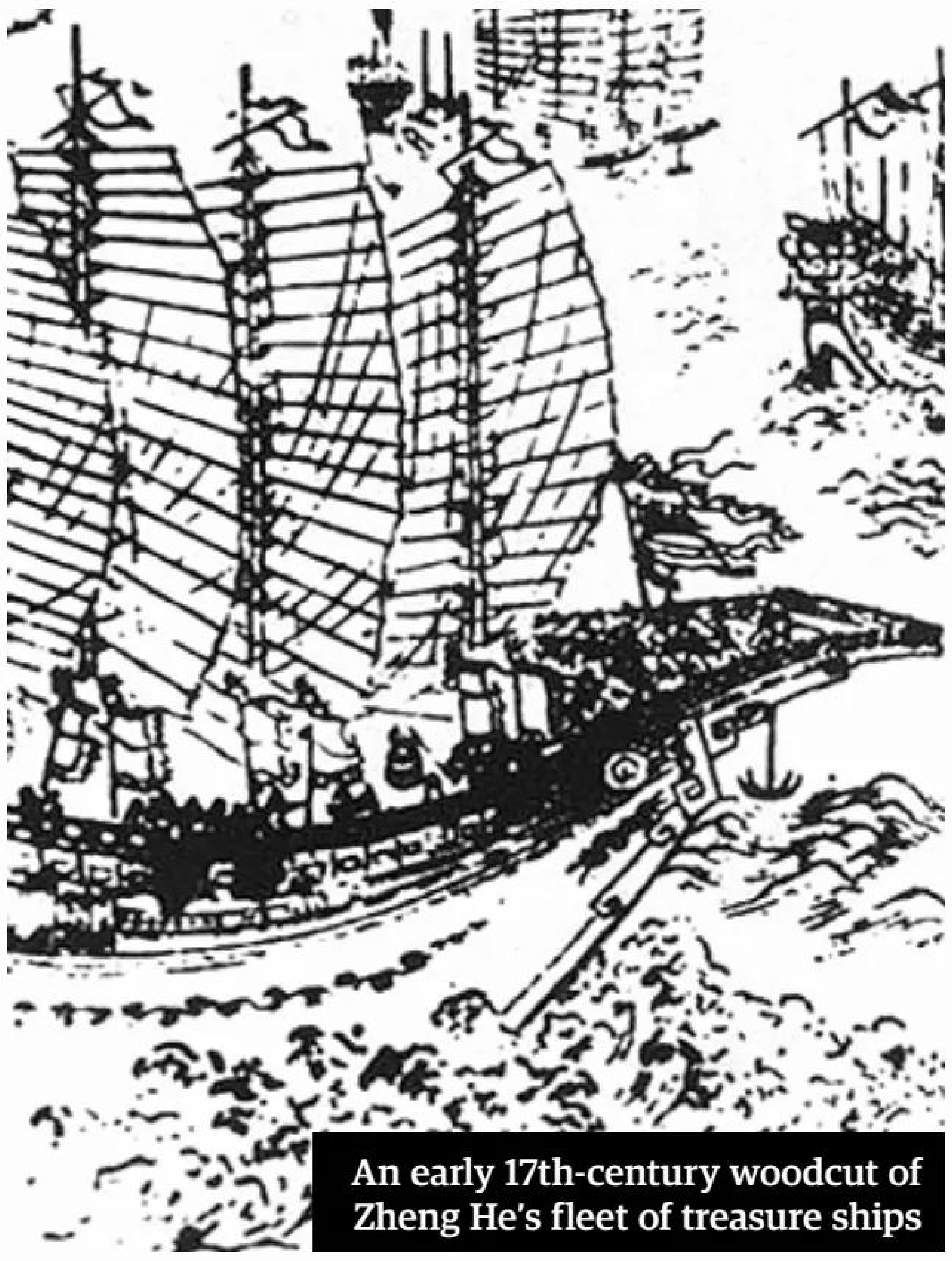
If the news of his discovery had been shared, would it have made the Europeans go earlier?
Yes, I would think so. We do have some surviving evidence showing that Zheng He probably passed some of his maps to the Arabs, and in turn the Arabs passed them onto the Europeans. There was huge money changing hands because it was very, very valuable information.

Would America have been colonised before Columbus even began his first voyage in 1492?
I think the Europeans would have jumped at the first opportunity to conquer America, as history has told us, so maybe Zheng He would have been hired by the Spaniards in the place of Columbus. It is worth mentioning that Zheng He was a hired gun, a mercenary, and would have done whatever he was told as long as he was paid. He was certainly willing to go where the money was.

He decided to offer himself as a eunuch, which is really very unusual. Most Chinese wouldn't do it as it meant you wouldn't have a family any more. But being a non-Chinese Muslim, this is a price to pay. So he probably would have been hired by the Portuguese or Spain or England. He would have spearheaded this colony outside China in the Americas and he would have probably become someone like Columbus, a governor of some sort. He's a very open-minded, flexible man – I admire him in that sense – but I doubt he would have had a Chinese following.

Would Zheng He be as famous today as Columbus if he had discovered America?
It's hard to say. He and his men left tablets and statues in southeastern and south Asia but very few Chinese knew about them. His fame really began after 1949 as a means to promote Chinese nationalism, although Zheng He was not Chinese, Confucian or Buddhist.

Zheng He was an interesting man, but the bottom line is that he was a marginal and unconventional figure. He managed to manoeuvre very smartly from a remote province of China at the edge of the empire to being in the heart of the country and becoming a personal servant of the emperor, involved in a conspiracy and a coup d'état. Then he got into trouble and he was exiled at sea for the rest of his life. That is really an extraordinary story.


An early 17th-century woodcut of Zheng He's fleet of treasure ships

The New World
Italian explorer Christopher Columbus 'discovers' America, ushering in an age of colonisation. **1492**

All hands on deck
John Cabot arrives on mainland North America in the name of Great Britain. France and Portugal soon follow. **1497**

Colonisation
The Europeans begin to colonise the Americas in earnest, claiming various lands as their own. **16th century**

Columbus Day
On the 300th anniversary of his discovery, the US declares that 12 October be known as Columbus Day. **1792**

Home sweet home
Zheng He is heralded as a hero for discovering a new world – but China shows no interest in colonisation. **1410**

Early colonisation
England, France and Portugal rush to follow suit, claiming land in the Americas as they see fit. **1420**

Declaration of Independence
The United States of America becomes the first nation to declare independence from Europe, seceding from Great Britain. **1776**

European colonisation
The Europeans colonise the Americas, but the new nations ultimately declare independence from their founding countries. **15th century**

The voyage home
After trading goods and sharing information with the natives, Zheng He and his fleet set sail for their home country. **1409**

Zheng He for hire
Hearing of his voyage, Spain pays a high price for Zheng He to return to America at the head of a Spanish fleet. **1412**

Christopher who?
Zheng He leads a successful expedition to colonise the Americas, 35 years before Columbus is even born. **1416**

Chinese isolation
Despite the exploits of the Europeans, China remains isolated and does not venture to the Americas. **1450**

Zheng He Day
On the 300th anniversary of his discovery, the US declares that 12 October be known as Zheng He Day. **1716**

What if...
The Pilgrims hadn't gone to America?

The religious and political life of America could have been entirely different to what it is today

INTERVIEW WITH... EVELYN TIDMAN

Evelyn has always been interested in history and while working in London realised that history novels didn't have to be dry and academic. She has researched and written three history novels: *Gentleman of Fortune*, about the eighteenth century pirate Bartholomew Roberts, *One Small Candle* about the Pilgrim Fathers and a novel about the English Civil War. The books are available in print and digitally.

What if the British pilgrims and puritans had not travelled to America?
If they had not travelled to America it is very likely that the religious and political life of the country would be entirely different. Scholars have suggested that the Puritan base of Eastern America is responsible for the laws and attitudes of that area, and beyond, even influencing government. It has been said that the reason why America guarantees freedom of worship is because of the attitude of the first immigrants. The Pilgrims, especially, had fought for their right to worship as their consciences dictated, and they tried to guarantee that right to others, even if they disagreed doctrinally with their views. Obviously, without that influence, subsequent developments in religious America could not have happened, and I'm thinking of the Baptists, Mennonites, Amish, Christian Scientists, Mormons, Jehovah's Witnesses and many others.

Why did the Pilgrims and Puritans travel to America?
One of the reasons for the Pilgrims moving to America was that their children were speaking Dutch better than they spoke English, and that they were becoming Dutch in all their ways. What they really wanted to do was to move the whole congregation [about 400 people] from Leiden [in Holland] to America, and stay a separate entity, but of course they could not do that all in one go. Other circumstances meant that they had to take strangers with them, people not of their persuasion, so already that ideal was compromised. One of the reasons the Separatists were so named was because they wanted to be separate from the Puritans. The Puritans wanted to 'purify' the church of England while the Separatists gave it up as a bad job! So Puritans and Separatists did not see eye to eye religiously, although later with the establishment of the Massachusetts Bay colony they merged.

Without these English settlements what other nation might have become the dominant force in America?
It would be nice to think that the Native Americans would have had the place to themselves without these English settlements, but that would not have happened. At the time, the nations of Europe were intent on carving up the New World to their best advantage. The Portuguese had already got a foothold in South America in Brazil. The Spanish were hot on their heels also in South America and the Caribbean. The Dutch had their efforts in Suriname in South America and had already set their eyes on what is now New York, and the French were busy trying to gain Canada and islands in the Caribbean. Along with all this colonising, the British were the leaders. At the time of the Pilgrims, they had already established the Virginia Company for the express purpose of colonisation, and the reason the Pilgrims got a patent to go to America was because the British government were keen to get a foothold there before everyone else did! Indeed, the Pilgrims themselves, were always on the alert in case of Spanish or French attack. As to the question on who would have been dominant, the truth is that it is difficult to tell, because they would have been fighting it out among themselves. The educated guess is probably the Spanish, because they actually colonised most of the Americas at the time.

How would the native Americans have been affected if the English didn't settle in the east coast?
If the Spanish had indeed been the dominant group, they would have brought the Inquisition, much like the conquistadores in South America did to the peoples in what is now Mexico. The Spanish Inquisition would have forced the native Americans to accept the Catholic faith by the use of torture and murder. And like the Incas and Mayans, it is

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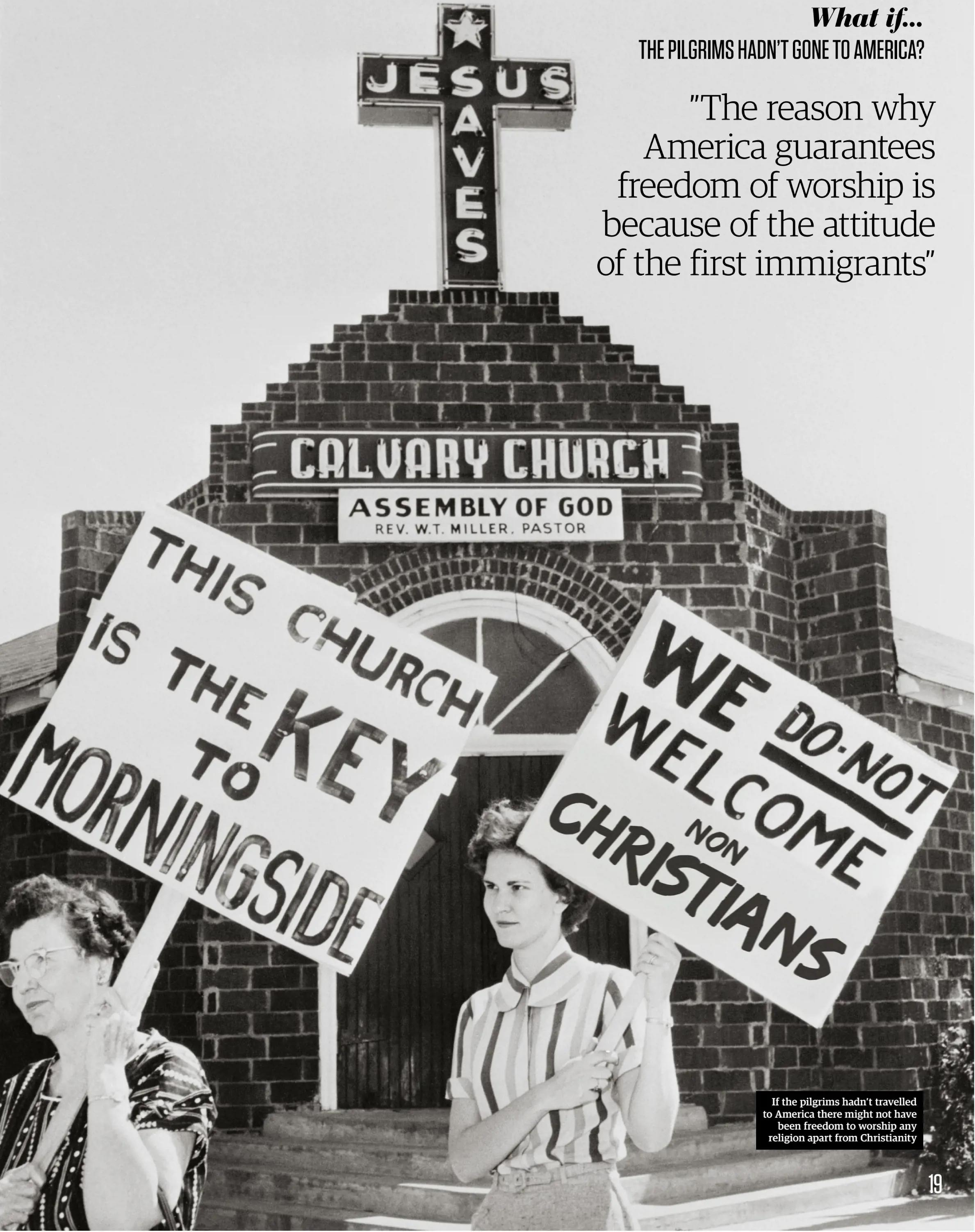
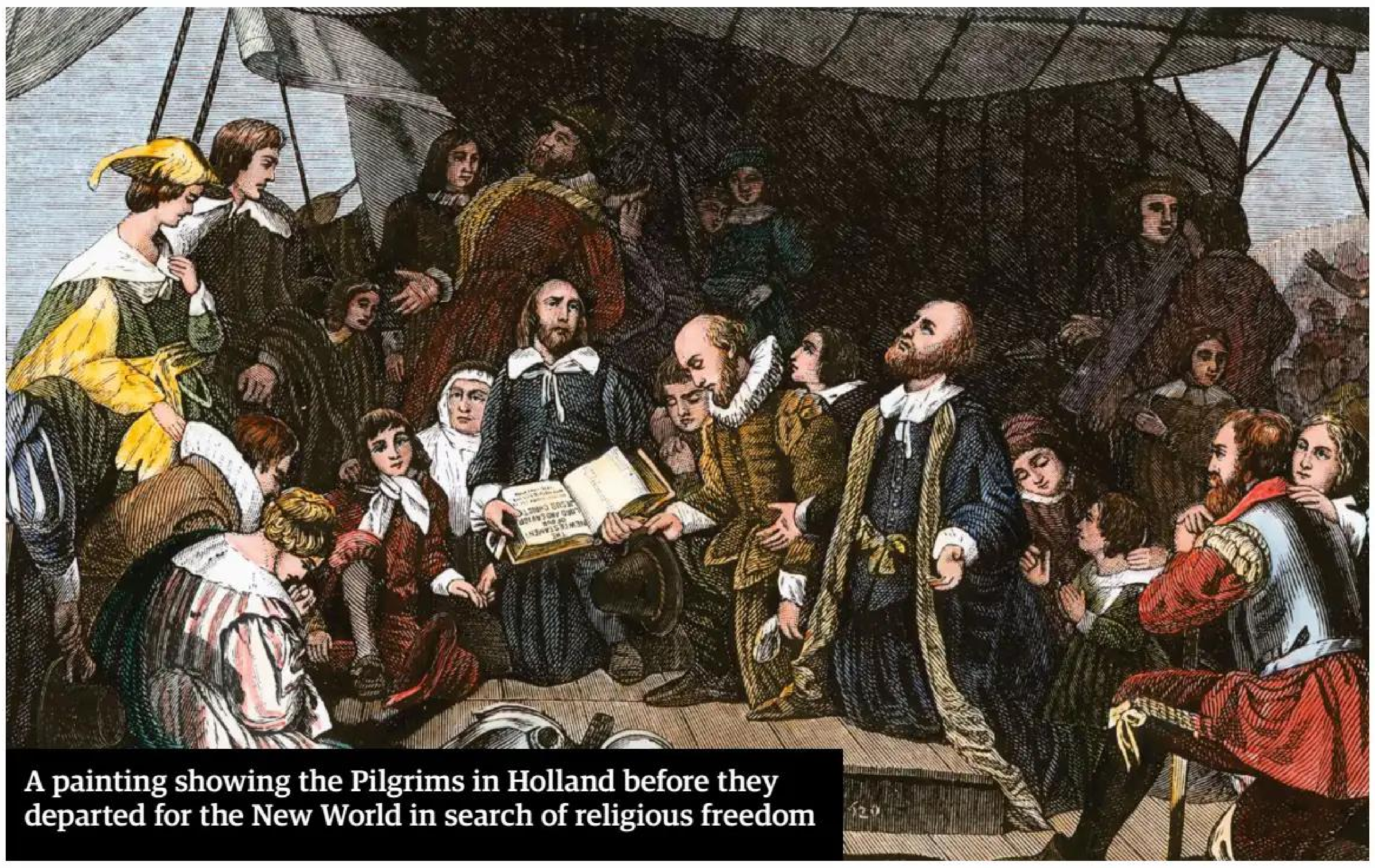
> "The reason why America guarantees freedom of worship is because of the attitude of the first immigrants"


JESUS SAVES
CALVARY CHURCH
ASSEMBLY OF GOD
REV. W.T. MILLER, PASTOR
THIS CHURCH IS THE KEY TO MORNINGSIDE
WE DO-NOT WELCOME NON CHRISTIANS

If the pilgrims hadn't travelled to America there might not have been freedom to worship any religion apart from Christianity



A painting showing the Pilgrims in Holland before they departed for the New World in search of religious freedom

doubtful if many would have survived. One of the arguments the Pilgrims had for not going to Virginia was that the Spanish were nearby and they were afraid of the Inquisition. And another reason for leaving Leiden was the threat of Spanish invasion again bringing the Inquisition. It was a real fear. The Pilgrims, whose religious ideas were against war, had a peace contract with the local Indians, which lasted more than 50 years. The Puritans, however, had no such scruples against war, and as they settled in Massachusetts Bay, problems arose between them and the Wampanoag. In 1675 war erupted between the Wampanoag and the English [King Philip's war] and 40 per cent of the Wampanoag Indians were killed. Of the rest, the men were sold into slavery in the West Indies and the women and children were enslaved in New England.

Would English still be the main language in America?
No, I don't think so. If the Spanish had indeed become dominant in the region not only America but probably the whole world would have been a very different place, and very likely Spanish would have been the dominant language, rather than English. To see the influence the Spanish had, we could look at Mexico, Argentina, Peru, Colombia and other South American countries. Perhaps America would have become a similar kind of nation. So if the Spanish had indeed colonised the North American continent, everyone else following would have had to learn Spanish, including the English and Irish. Indeed, perhaps the English and Irish would not have gone to America at all. Now there's a thought! The fact that English did indeed become the dominant language has had its influence on the politics of the whole world, not just America. After the American War of Independence, the British and the Americans had a 'special relationship' no doubt strongly influenced by the shared language. If, on the other hand, America spoke Spanish, the whole outlook of the nation would have been different. The politics would have leaned heavily on Catholicism, instead of on the Puritan work ethic. Economically, America might not have done so well, for the Puritan work ethic was largely responsible for the economic growth, making America the financially prosperous land that it is today. Additionally, there would have been no 'special relationship' between Britain and America, and perhaps America would not have been so dominant in world politics. America might not have come to Britain's aid in the first World War, and the whole world could have been different.

What ramifications for the American government would there have been without a New England producing John Adams and Benjamin Franklin?
That I cannot answer, not being well enough acquainted with Adams and Franklin, so to speak. However, if I had to speculate, one thing I noticed about both Adams and Franklin is their attack on slavery. Perhaps this came about because of their religious background among New England Puritans. Religion certainly played a part in how people viewed and treated others.

Would the English have had later opportunities in America if the 1620 and 1630 Pilgrims and Puritans hadn't gone there?
The country is so large, that someone would have gone there and done something. So probably, yes. No doubt the Irish, who are not English, but who speak the language, would have made a mass migration in the 1800s, just as they did. And very likely lots of English would have gone, just as they did.

How would it be different?

Real timeline

1558

Act of Uniformity
This key piece of legislature cemented the status of the Church of England. Under the terms of this Act, conformity with Church of England procedure was compulsory.
1558-1559

Hampton Court Conference
A series of meetings held by King James I. Puritan demands were largely dismissed but the conference did result in the King James Bible.
1604

The Virginia Company
Established by King James I, the Virginia Company of London was a joint-stock company formed to establish New World settlements and achieve profit for its shareholders.
1606

Escape to Holland
The Pilgrims travelled to Holland to escape the ongoing problems and persecution of religious non-conformists in England. They went first to Amsterdam and then on to Leiden.
1607-8

To the New World
With the negotiated assistance of the Virginia Company of London, the Pilgrims are able to sail from Plymouth, England, bound for America on the Mayflower.
1620

Storms at sea
Having travelled more than half the distance to the destination, the Mayflower encounters strong storms that cause one the ship's main beams to crack.
October 1620

Real timeline

No turning back?
Though they are nearer to America than England, the storms are severe enough that a return is considered. The main beam is repaired.
October 1620

Alternate timeline

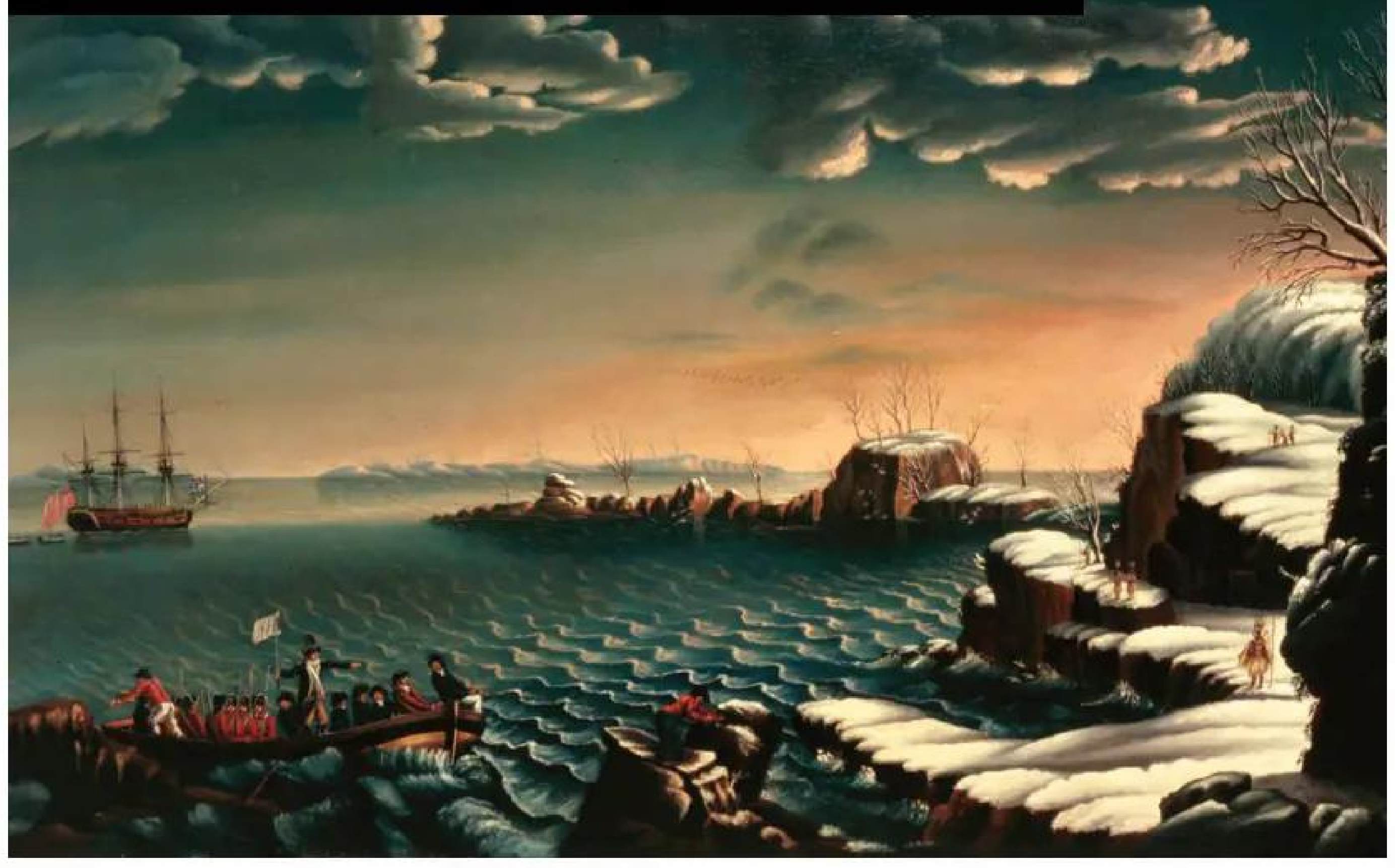
Disaster
Despite efforts to repair the damage caused by the storms, the ship capsizes with the loss of all passengers. It is thought that the ship was attempting to turn back to England.
October 1620

Once they were able to sail around the southern cape, then the possibilities were endless. So yes, I think they would have had opportunity, though not necessarily in the east.

Had the English tried to go to America later, what might have been the result?
If they had tried to take the settlements in the east away from the Spanish, or French or whoever, there would have been war. But over the centuries, so many different migrations have happened to America – everything from Jewish people, Spanish, Russians, Poles, Irish and of course Africans, and others as well as English that it is truly a mixture nation. Probably, in time the same thing would have happened regardless of who settled on the eastern coasts.

How would the history of the UK have been different if the Pilgrims and Puritans hadn't gone to America?
It wouldn't have made much difference to the UK, which trundled on in its own way through its own revolutions as the seventeenth century wore on. The Civil War would still have happened and the Puritan Cromwell would still have become Lord Protector before the return of Charles II and the ousting of the Puritans. The Pilgrims themselves were not into politics of any kind. They just wanted to worship God in their way, they would have had no political influence and would have kept out of the Civil War. However, it's a different story with the Puritans. There were not that many Puritans left in the country but those who stayed meddled in politics that led to the Civil War. With more puritans in the country this could have inflamed the situation further. The English Civil War was caused by a lot of factors, but on the one side there was Charles I, who as head of the Church of England wished to impose Episcopal rule on the rest of the country. In England, politics and religion were closely related. With the rise of the Reformation, many people saw from the Bible (which was now in English) that the church should be run by elders, not priests. From these rose the Separatists and Puritans, Presbyterians, Quakers, and all non-conformist religions. Of these, the Puritans were the dominant party in England. To impose Episcopalian rule (rule by priests and bishops) on the church in Scotland, the King went to war in 1639-40. He was defeated and the victors imposed heavy fines on him that he could not pay, so he had to apply to Parliament for funds. However, Parliament consisted of Puritans. Their involvement in politics brought them into head-on conflict with the King, and the war broke out in 1642 with Puritans on one side and the King and Royalists on the other. The Puritans won, the King was beheaded, and Oliver Cromwell became Lord Protector for 11 years, during which time the whole country was now forced to conform to Puritan ideas of religion, so there was no freedom of religion.

The landing of the Mayflower and its 102 passengers in the New World of opportunity that was America



> "The Pilgrims themselves were not into politics of any kind"

What might the America of today be like without the Pilgrims' and Puritans' settlements?
With English dominant in America and the influence of the Pilgrims and Puritans, religious tolerance was started from early on in the country's history. The English psyche, almost to a man, is probably more dominant among that nation than religion and belief, is that a person's religion is his own business. With a difference influence – say that of the Spanish Inquisition – America might have grown up a religiously intolerant country where other religions apart from Christianity were not accepted.

Land sighted
The Mayflower is nearing its destination, and prayers of thanks are given when land is sighted at the beginning of November.
November 1620

Puritans land
Thanks to a Royal Charter from King Charles I the previous year, the Winthrop Fleet of 11 ships carrying around 700-800 Puritans sails from England to New England.
1630

Harvard formed
The Massachusetts Bay Colony issues a grant to establish the first English institution of higher education on the continent; two years later it is named Harvard.
1636

The Mayflower Compact
41 male passengers sign the Mayflower Compact, an attempt at forming a fixed, legally binding declaration of self-government to suppress dissent.
November 1620

First Thanksgiving
The Pilgrims invite their Indian allies to a feast, known ever since as the first Thanksgiving, to celebrate the harvest and their survival.
October 1621

Spanish speaking
Spanish becomes the main language of America and English is only spoken in small pockets on the great island mass.
1710

Home from home
The Pilgrim colonies are well established and they are free to practice their religion.
1720

No New World
News of the sinking of the Mayflower and the death of the Puritans reaches England.
1621

Spanish inquisition
The Spanish begin to colonise large parts of North America and turn their attentions to the east coast. They strongly enforce the Catholic faith through the Inquisition.
1625

Puritans stay in England
Put off by the failed attempt by the pilgrims five years earlier, the Puritans stay in England and do not travel to the New World in search of a new life.
1630

Religious intolerance
Without the influence of the pilgrims – who believed in religious freedoms – America starts to become religiously intolerant of anything but the Christian faith.
1670

No special relationship
With the English influence in America greatly reduced, the country's main language becomes Spanish and the 'special relationship' between America and Britain never develops
1720 – present day

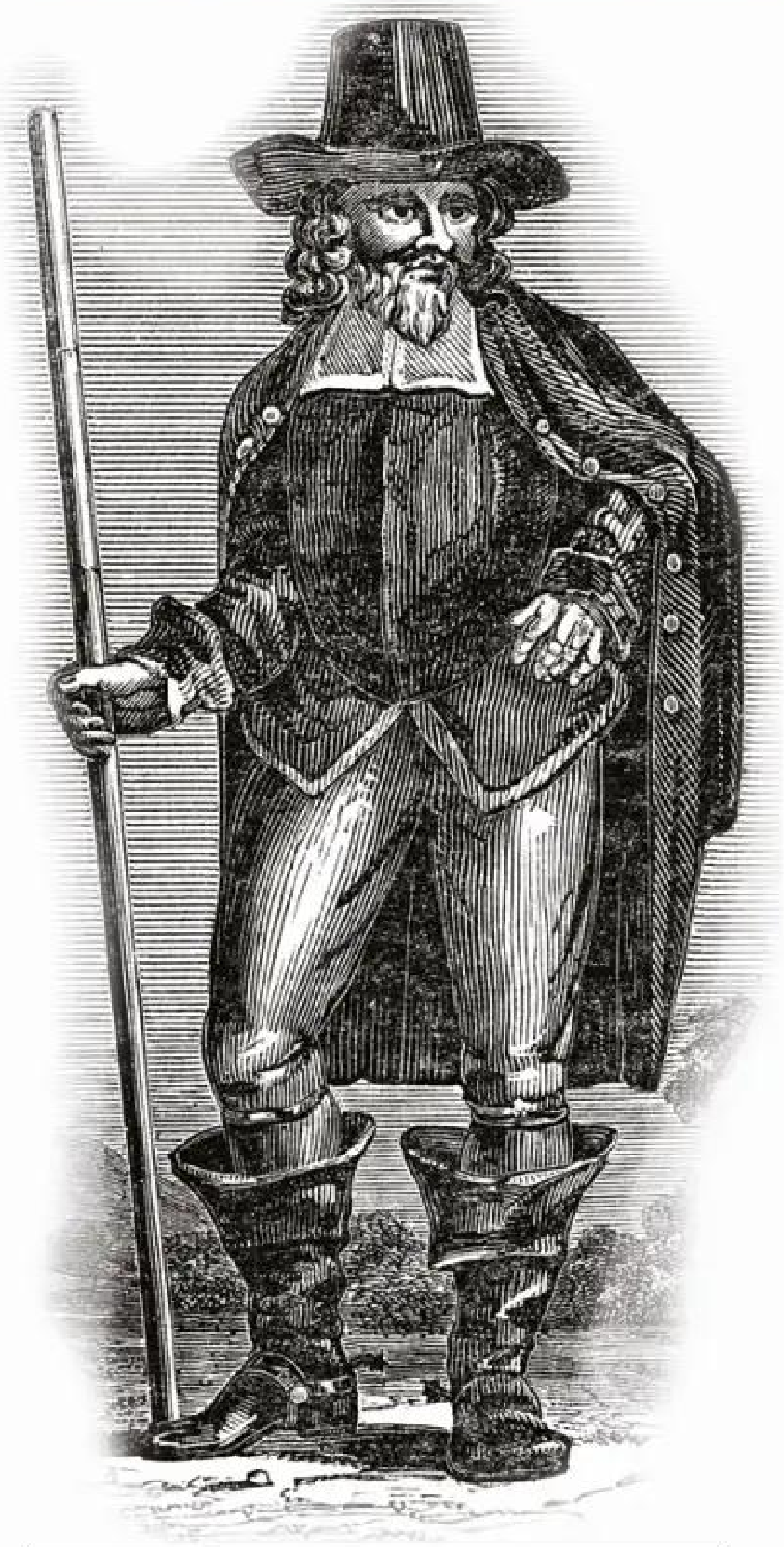
© Corbis

What if…
The Salem witch trials had never happened?

The Salem witch trials ripped apart communities and executed innocent people. Would witch trials have continued if they had never occurred?

INTERVIEW WITH... MARILYNNE ROACH

Marilynne Roach is the author of numerous books on the subject of the Salem witch trials, including *Six Women of Salem* and *The Salem Witch Trials: A Day by Day Chronicle of a Community Under Siege*.



Matthew Hopkins was England's top witchfinder in the 17th century

For 15 months between February 1692 and May 1693, the American town of Salem, Massachusetts, was ripped apart by accusations of witchcraft that spread like wildfire. At the end of this harrowing period some 25 innocent people had been killed, suspected of witchcraft. However, the legacy of those terrible events served as a cautionary warning of the violent excesses of witchcraft trials. Since that time, the term 'witch hunt' has been used as a political metaphor for any unjust harassing of innocent persons or groups. But what if the events at Salem had never occurred? Would witch trials have continued throughout America?

What was the situation in Salem, directly prior to the witch trials?

The panic that became the Salem witch trials began in a time of growing uncertainty: loss of Massachusetts' charter, insecurity over how much self-rule a new charter would allow, the threat of smallpox, continuing frontier raids by French Canadians and their Wabanaki allies, privateers and pirates at sea, and a declining economy.

Why did the trials begin?

Early in 1692, the six-year-old daughter and 11-year-old niece of Rev Samuel Parris began acting strangely. Their painful symptoms baffled physicians until one of them suggested the children might be under an evil spell. Matters worsened after a neighbour taught a British anti-magic charm to John and Tituba Indian, Parris's enslaved couple. But now the girls reported seeing the spectres of their tormentors – apparitions no one else could see: witches!

The first of the year's hearings took place on 1 March. Local magistrates questioned beggar Sarah Good, invalid Sarah Osborne, and Tituba Indian, after they were accused of hurting a total of four girls. All three suspects denied the charge of witchcraft but Tituba eventually broke down and, though insisting that she too was a victim, confessed and described a number of other witches whom she did not know. Now people began to wonder who else had joined the Devil's side.

How did the accusations spread?

Suspicions, accusations, and hearings steadily increased throughout March, April and May. When the new royally-appointed governor, Sir William Phips, arrived with the new charter on 14 May, he found the jails of three counties crowded with people suspected of being witches. Because Massachusetts law now had to be reorganised in conformance with British law, Phips instituted a temporary Court of Oyer and Terminer until a permanent superior court could be established. The chief justice was Lieutenant Governor William Stoughton, who held the view that the Devil could not fake the spectre of innocent people without their permission.

The Court of Oyer and Terminer convened in Salem on 2 June, tried Bridget Bishop, and found her guilty. Bishop was hanged on 10 June, after which Judge Nathaniel Saltonstall resigned. Uncertain, the court consulted the Boston ministers (as experts in spiritual matters). The ministers stressed caution about accepting spectral evidence because the Devil did not need permission to counterfeit an appearance. Therefore, spectres were most likely the Devil's delusion. The court ignored the precautions.

The spread of accusations continued, particularly in nearby Andover where more people were arrested than in Salem. The panic eventually involved 23 communities and embroiled people from Maine to New York. The Court of Oyer and Terminer convened three more times in Salem

© Alamy and Getty

What if…

THE SALEM WITCH TRIALS HAD NEVER HAPPENED?

The Past

1597

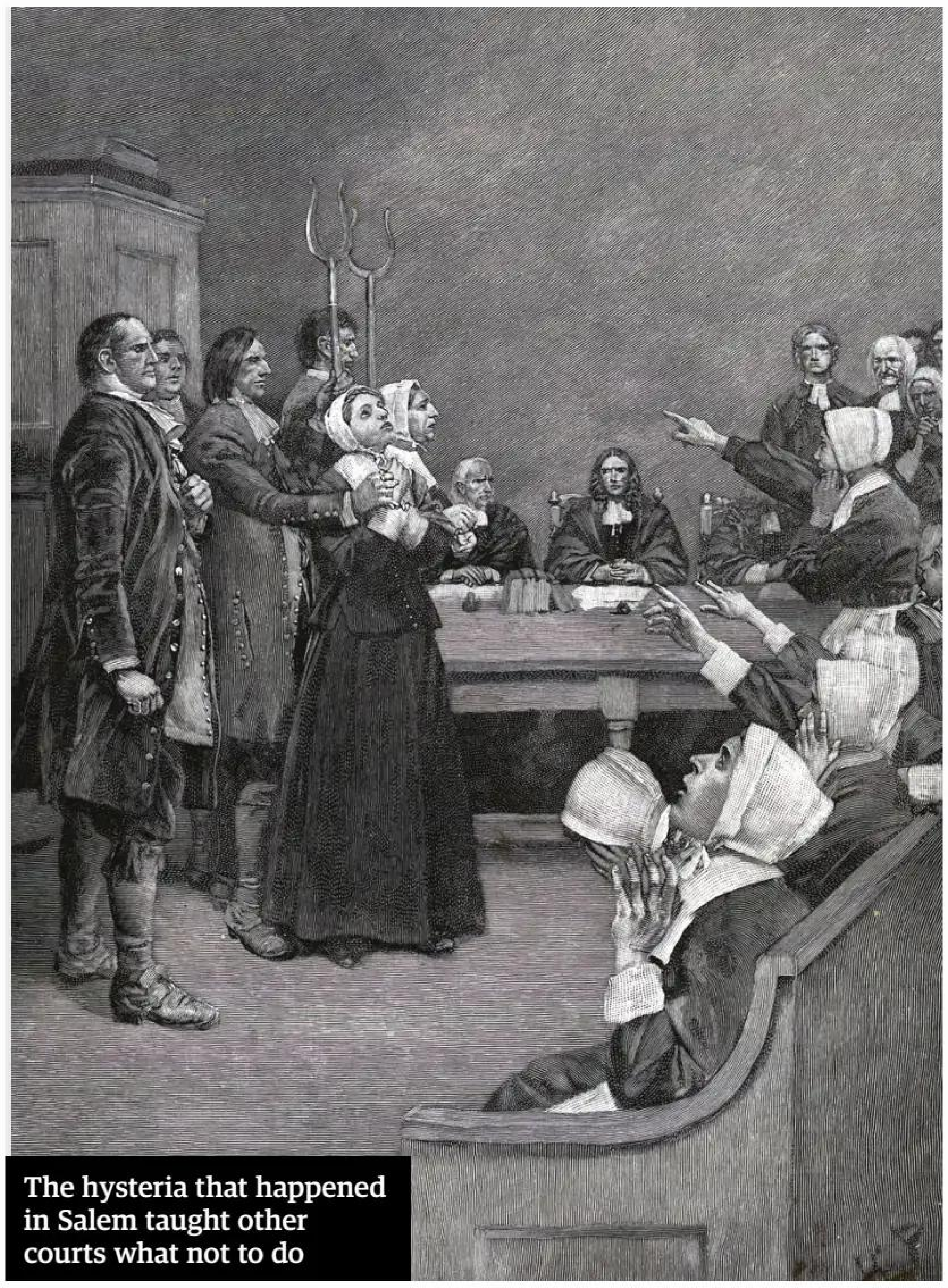
The Witch-hunting King
James VI of Scotland was well known for his obsession with witchcraft. In 1597 he published the *Daemonologie*, a book that expressed his belief in witchcraft and sought to prove the actuality of these practices. It also stated that he considered death the only suitable punishment for such heathen ways. His belief in witchcraft stemmed from a particularly bad storm that he got caught in during a voyage across the North Sea. He thought that the storm was caused by a group of 200 witches who had conspired to kill him. When he heard the confessions, even though they were extracted through torture, his belief only grew.

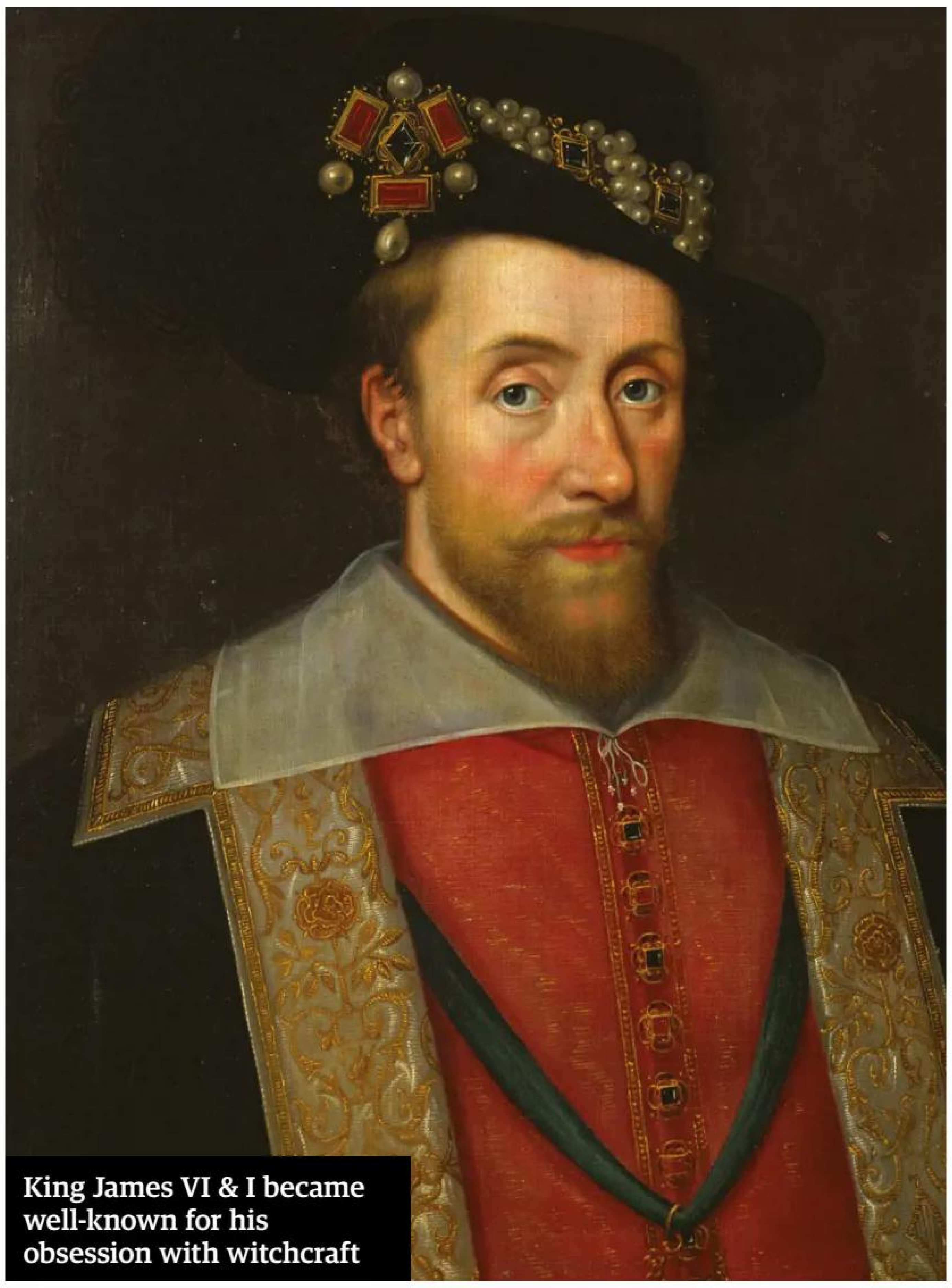
1644

The Witchfinder General
Decades prior to Salem one man acquired a fearsome reputation as Britain's premier witchfinder - Matthew Hopkins. A fanatical Puritan, Hopkins and his various associates are believed to have been responsible for the deaths of 300 women. In 1644, John Sterne accused a group of women of witchcraft and Hopkins oversaw a trial which saw nineteen of the accused hanged. Following this event Hopkins began to travel throughout East Anglia as the self-styled 'Witchfinder General' and charged a fee for his services. After years of spreading fear and terror Matthew Hopkins died in 1647, most likely of tuberculosis.

1612

The Pendle Witch Trials
One of the most infamous witch trials in British History is that of the Pendle Witches. One of the accused, Alizon Device, had an argument with a man named John Law. When Law suffered a stroke he blamed Device and under trial she accused members of the Chattox family, with whom she held a personal grudge. The accusations spread and in August 1612, ten people were executed for witchcraft. The story is particularly well documented and known, mainly thanks to Thomas Potts and his The Wonderfull Discoverie of Witches in the Countie of Lancaster.


The hysteria that happened in Salem taught other courts what not to do


King James VI & I became well-known for his obsession with witchcraft

and defendants were found guilty. Thirteen women and five men were hanged and one man was pressed to death for "standing mute" (refusing to agree to his trial). Due to increasing opposition, Phips stopped the proceedings in October pending advice from London.

The Massachusetts' legislature established a permanent court system under the new charter in November. Most of the judges were the same men and William Stoughton was again chief justice.

With the jails crowded and no news yet from London, the new court met in January 1693 in Salem for Essex County. Forbidden to accept "spectral evidence," they found only three guilty. The king's attorney felt that the evidence against them was no better than spectral evidence.

When the Superior Court opened in Charlestown for Middlesex County on 31 January, Phips unexpectedly postponed the executions scheduled for the following day. When Chief Justice Stoughton learned of this he was enraged and quit the bench for the remainder of the session. Of the five tried in February, no one was found guilty. In April and May the Superior Court for Suffolk and Essex Counties met again but found no one guilty.

How did the trials come to an end?

Altogether, courts had tried 52 defendants, found 30 guilty of the charge of witchcraft, and hanged 19 before prohibiting spectral evidence. Primarily to acknowledge the errors of the former witchcraft trials, Massachusetts observed a public fast on 14 January 1697, during which Judge Samuel Sewall made a personal apology.

Beginning in 1703, survivors and the families of those executed petitioned the government to clear the names of those found guilty of witchcraft. Governor Joseph Dudley signed a reversal of attainder in 1711 to clear only the names specified in the petitions Monetary restitution followed in 1712. Acting Massachusetts governor, Jane Swift, cleared five omitted names on 31 October 31 2001. It was only on 28 July 2022 that Governor Charlie Baker finally cleared the last of those condemned for witchcraft between 1692-93.

What is the legacy of the trials?

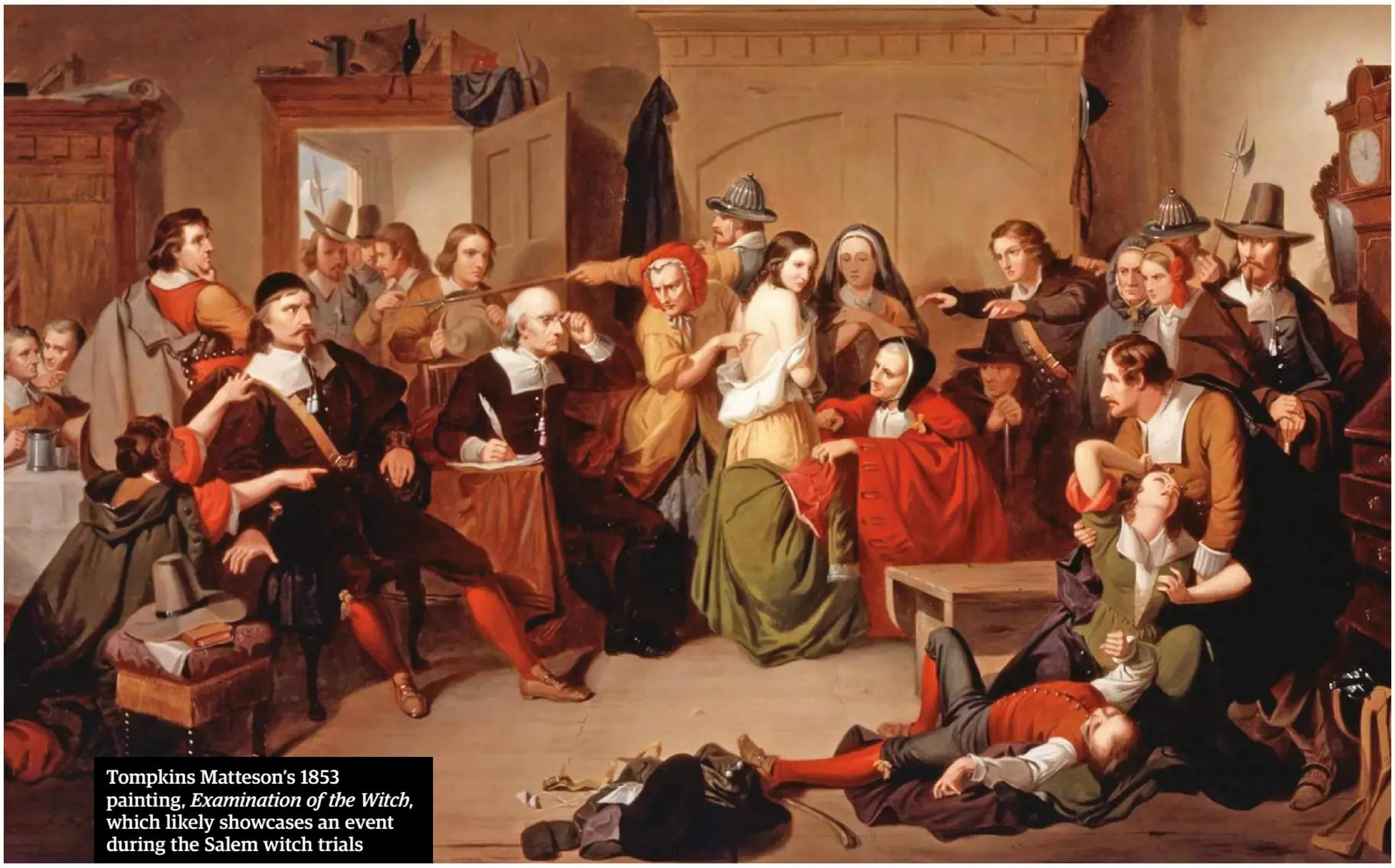
The greatest impact of the 1692 trials was that it ended further prosecution of supposed witchcraft by serving as an example of what not to do. After the Salem outbreak, courts dismissed the idea of harmful witchcraft as nonsense or the Devil's delusion and therefore invalid (as some had warned the Court of Oyer and Terminer all along). The sheer embarrassment of the deadly 1692 debacle prevented justices from pursuing any witch charges that came before them (except for slander suits against accusers).

Even in 1692, when Connecticut wrestled with its own (albeit fewer) witchcraft cases, the turmoil in Massachusetts was so recognisably out of hand, that Connecticut's court delayed their trials until their judges could consider the results of Massachusetts' methods. Consequently, all of the Connecticut defendants lived.

Massachusetts' revised laws, per the new charter, did include a new law against witchcraft that the Privy Council rejected on a non-spectral technicality. (Witchcraft still remained illegal in Britain.) Massachusetts did not contest the decision and thereafter proceeded unprotected by any anti-witchcraft laws.

If the Salem trials had never happened, would witch trials have continued in America?

Without the excesses of 1692 as a cautionary example, a few more cases probably would have come to court in Massachusetts where magistrates, as before the big outbreak, tended to exercise caution when dealing with neighbourhood suspicions. Despite lingering folk traditions, I doubt there



Tompkins Matteson's 1853 painting, *Examination of the Witch*, which likely showcases an event during the Salem witch trials

would have been many witch trials in the 18th century due to changing opinions on what was and was not possible.

If the trials had never happened would trials have happened elsewhere?

Other colonies had performed fewer witch trials during the colonial period. That situation would probably have continued without Salem's atypical example as a warning. It would have taken another unusual convergence of pressures and events to trigger so many accusations as happened in 1692. Suspicions lingered longer among neighbours than came to court, though. When the Constitutional Convention convened in the non-puritan city of Philadelphia, Pennsylvania in 1787, a violent mob harried a suspected 'witch' through the streets, causing the old woman to die of her injuries soon after. Vigilante action against suspected 'witches' continues today in various parts of the world.

If the trials had never happened, what would the legal, social, and political results have been?

Without the lessons of 1692, Massachusetts might have contested the Privy Council's decision to veto the original witchcraft law. If the legal code had kept such a law, there likely would have been a few more suspects tried (but not necessarily found guilty) in the early 18th century – but that's just a guess. Except for serving as a warning, the 1692 trials had a mostly local effect. Politically, though, the trials have proven a handy way of accusing political opponents as being "witch-hunters." Legally, the trials are a caution about verifying evidence. Socially, the trials have been a half-understood example of what other people do wrong – rather than the warning to examine one's own perceptions and motives in times of crisis as it should be.

> "Vigilante action against suspected 'witches' continues today in various parts of the world"

Was puritan America destined to have an outbreak of hysteria of this nature?

Only the New England colonies were really puritan and never all in agreement about doctrine and governance. Events were never 'destined' and the convergence of the specific incidents that did happen was an anomaly. Even after the legal proceedings began, there were several moments when matters could have gone in another direction – but, alas, did not.

If the trials had never happened, would important lessons be lost?

Instead of serving as a caution against the human tendency to panic and think the worst of others on flimsy or incomplete evidence, the trials are mainly remembered (usually with little historical accuracy) as the incomprehensible nonsense of one particular weird group fuelled by lies and/or stupidity. In this way stereotyping obscures the lessons.

Ferreting out details of the disastrous yet fascinating events of 1692 and the people connected with it continues to reveal further intriguing information that throws light on a complicated and compelling story. If the trials had never happened, I would have done something very different with the last 47 years of my life but I can't imagine what. There is still more to find.

The Possibility

'Witch' Hunts

Largely due to the social and cultural impact of the events at Salem, the term 'witch hunts' has become a byword for political and social moral panics that result in a group of people being accused. In the 1950s, Senator Joseph McCarthy famously accused multiple people of being communists, attempting to expose an infiltration of the United States government. He conducted a 36-day series of televised hearings on the matter. Without Salem's creation of the term 'witch trial', we would not be able to objectively label these moral panics in a way that immediately identifies them as misguided and dangerous.

Arthur Miller and the Crucible

In 1953 the celebrated American playwright, Arthur Miller, penned *The Crucible*, a dramatic account of the events at Salem. Miller wrote the play as a criticism of the communist 'witch hunts' headed by Senator McCarthy in 1950s America. In a 1996 article for the New York Times, Miller stated that: "The more I read into the Salem panic, the more it touched off corresponding images of common experiences in the fifties: the old friend of a blacklisted person crossing the street to avoid being seen talking to him; the overnight conversions of former leftists into born-again patriots". The Salem witch trials provided a historical metaphor that without, the writer would not have been able to legitimately criticise the ongoing communist scare.

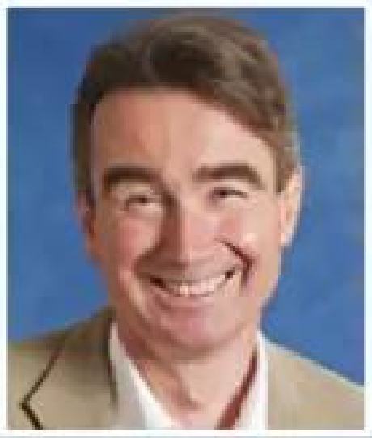
The Legal Impact of Salem

Elizabeth Johnson Jr was the last of the Salem witches to be officially pardoned. Although Johnson Jr was never executed for her 'crime', she was still sentenced. According to *The Guardian*, she was pardoned after a school class spent the year working to research how they could clear her name. The research was then sent to Senator Diana DiZoglio, who passed legislation to formally exonerate Johnson Jr. If the bloodshed in Salem had never occurred, she would not have been sentenced to die.

What if…
Britain had won the War of Independence?

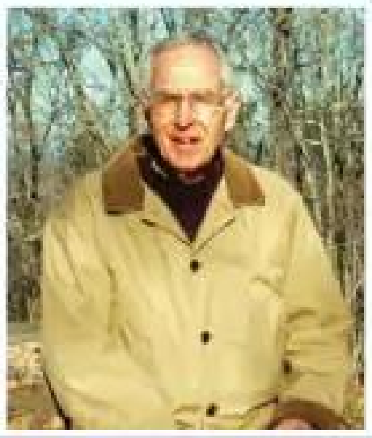
Would the American colonies have remained in the British Empire, or would rebellion have flared again?

INTERVIEWS WITH… PROF STEPHEN CONWAY



Stephen Conway is a professor of history in the History department at University College London. His teaching focuses on 18th-century British and colonial American history and his publications include *The British Isles And The War Of American Independence* (2000) and *A Short History Of The American Revolutionary War* (2013).

PROF EMERITUS JOHN FERLING



A specialist in early American history, John Ferling has written several books around this subject area, such as *Struggle For A Continent: The Wars Of Early America* (1993) and *Almost A Miracle: The American Victory In The War Of Independence* (2007).

PROF ROBERT ALLISON

Robert Allison has taught American history at Suffolk University in Boston, MA, since 1992, when he earned his doctorate at Harvard University. He chairs Suffolk's History department and also teaches history at the Harvard Extension School. His books include *The American Revolution: A Concise History* (2011) and *The Boston Tea Party* (2007).

What if Britain had won the American War of Independence?
SC: The American colonies would have remained in the British Empire, at least for the time being. Perhaps the colonies would have reconciled themselves to a restoration of British control and gradually have moved towards greater home rule and eventual independence in the same manner as many countries in the later British Commonwealth. But it's equally likely that the rebellion might have flared up again in a few years, or the British government might have taken the view that it was far too expensive to maintain a large army of occupation in the conquered colonies and de facto independence would have been granted.

Is it likely that victory for Britain would have merely delayed American independence? Or could the US still be part of the Commonwealth today, like Canada?
RA: Either one is possible. [Benjamin] Franklin thought that independence would come naturally; he anticipated something like the British Commonwealth. He thought it would be impossible, when the American population was far greater than the population of England, for the government of America to continue to be administered in London.

JF: Franklin thought America's population would surpass that of Great Britain by the middle of the 19th century, and he based his calculation on natural increase alone. When immigration is factored in, America was certain to have had a far larger population by 1850. I don't see how London could have avoided extending far greater autonomy to the Americans [over] the course of the 19th century.

What might have become of the 13 colonies post-war had Britain been victorious, as well as revolutionary leaders like George Washington?
SC: The leaders of the rebellion might well have been treated in the same manner as the leaders of the rebellion of 1745-6 in Scotland, who were executed for treason.

JF: If Franklin is to be believed, the British public was enraged toward the colonists at the time the war broke out; years of war only stoked those passions. Had the rebellion been crushed, retribution would have been the order of the day. Some leaders would have been executed, some imprisoned for long terms, and the colonists likely would have had to pay fines or faced some sort of economic punishment.

And what do you think would have happened to the rest of America – beyond the 13 colonies?
JF: The French Revolution might have been America's opening for attempting once again to gain independence. But assuming that had not been the case, I think London would have continued pushing towards the west. It almost certainly would have taken the British longer to reach the Pacific than it took the United States. British merchants looked askance at settlements beyond the Appalachian barrier, but Britain would have gotten there eventually.

RA: Spain claimed the territory west of the Mississippi [River], but hardly controlled it. Britain probably would have kept the Native Americans of the Ohio Valley and the territory that is now Alabama and Mississippi, as they were trading partners. This might have stymied the spread of American settlers to the west. Then again, it might not have, as the Royal Proclamation of 1763 had not done so.

The real impetus for American settlement of the Great Plains – the area between the Mississippi River and the Rocky Mountains, much of it wrested from Mexico in the [mid-19th century] – was to connect the east coast with the west. In the 1840s the United States and Britain nearly went to war over what is today British Columbia [in Canada]; '54°-40 or Fight' was James K Polk's campaign slogan in 1844 [before he became the 11th US president]. Britain, with its naval superiority, would have controlled the American west coast.

Spain would have been squeezed out. It's not clear if Mexico or the other Latin American countries would have developed in the same way had there not been an independent United States in North America.

What benefits – or disadvantages – might victory have brought Britain?
SC: The benefits, if such they were, would have taken the form of greater economic control of the colonies, and especially of their overseas trade, which was subject to the restrictions of the 17th-century English Navigation Acts. But that advantage was unlikely to have been very much greater than the British

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> “I don’t see how London could have avoided extending far greater autonomy”

The first cornerstone of the White House was laid in 1792 - nine years after the War of Independence ended

“Hatred would have burned more deeply in a defeated America”

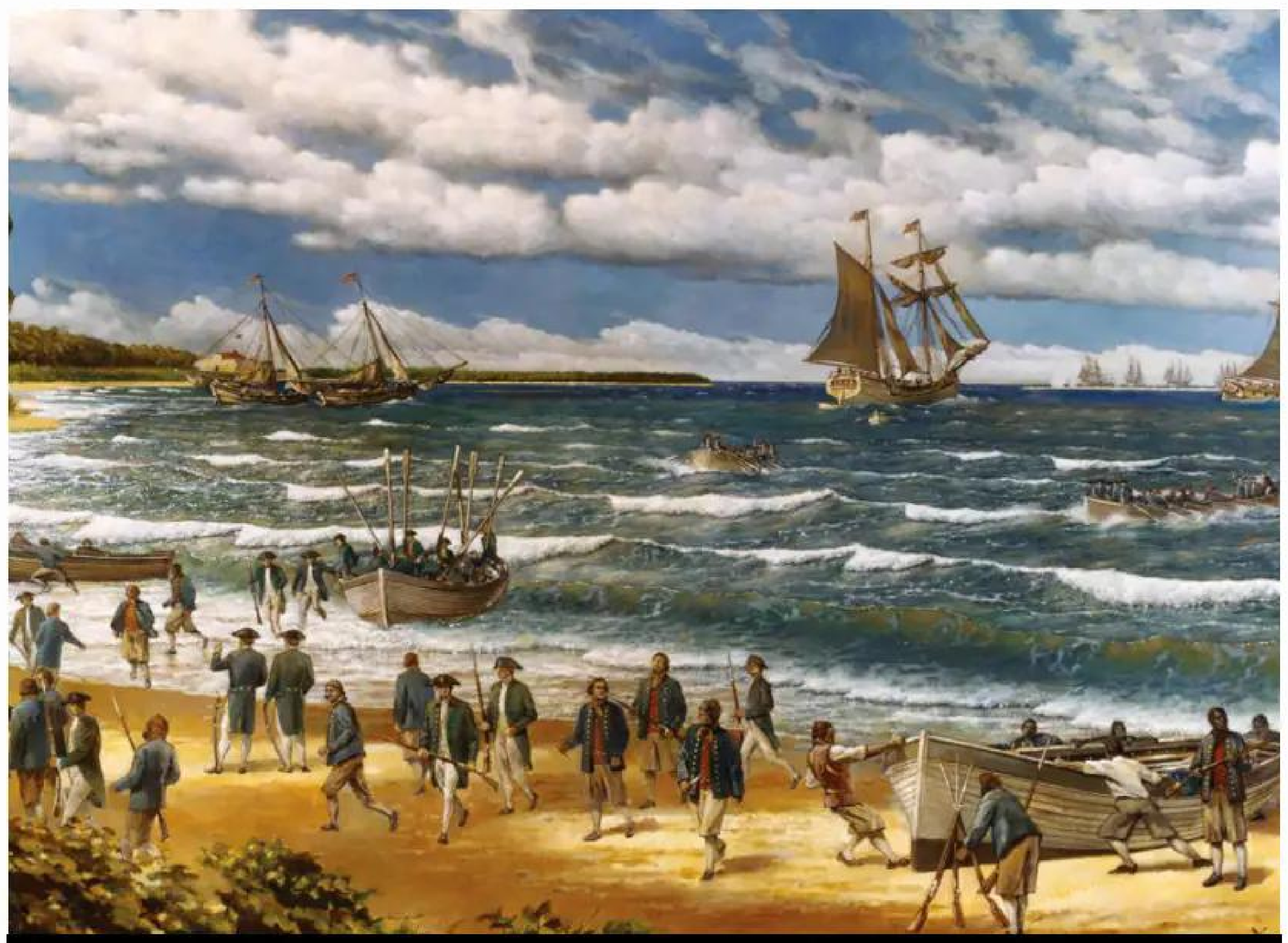
reaped from defeat. The independent United States remained in a semi-colonial economic relationship with Britain for many years after 1783, consuming vast quantities of British manufactured goods and sending to Britain enormous quantities of raw materials. Had the British won the war, they would have been burdened by the costs of governing and defending America, so we can say that defeat left Britain with many of the benefits but few of the costs of empire.

JF: A great challenge would have been to somehow win back the hearts of the colonists. It would not have been easy. A victorious America largely hated the British for a century after the Revolution. Hatred would have lingered longer and burned more deeply in a defeated America.

How might nations, other than Britain and the US, have been affected if the war had gone the other way?

RA: France, Spain and Native Americans [would have been] most notably [affected]. France supported the Americans, but primarily as a way to weaken Britain and protect France's West Indian colonies. Would the French Revolution have happened without the successful example of the American Revolution – or the huge debt France incurred by [participating in] it? Granted, France was reeling from an ineffective government overladen with aristocracy and political inefficiency, and the defeat in the Seven Years' War. Spain was fortifying its Mexican borders in the 1770s and 1780s; its main interest in the war in America was to get back Gibraltar.

The Native Americans were the big losers in the war though. The British were their allies, though allies the British sold out when it served their interests. I'm not singling out the British for doing this, as most nations tend to seek their own self-interest. The British had proposed an Indian buffer state in the Ohio Valley, and they were trading partners with the Iroquois, Creek and Cherokee tribes – one reason they supported the British rather than the Americans.



The Battle of Nassau was an American naval assault on the then British-ruled island in the Bahamas that took place in March 1776

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Could a one-nation unification with Canada have been on the cards for North America?

SC: The Americans tried to conquer Canada in 1775, and wanted it ceded to the United States in the peace negotiations of 1782-3. But the British were determined to keep Canada, which was now increasingly gaining the Protestant population British governments had wanted since 1763, thanks to the exodus of American loyalists from the US. If America had lost, then the loyalists may have stayed in the old British colonies, leaving Canada overwhelmingly francophone and Catholic, in which case it would have remained very different from the rest of the mainland British colonies.

JF: I think Britain would have opposed unification, at least for a very long time after it crushed the American rebellion. During the Seven Years' War it had sought to keep the 13 colonies from unifying under one government, as Franklin had proposed in his Albany Plan of Union. Had it defeated the colonists in the Revolutionary War, Britain might have divided some colonies to keep them weak. Furthermore, the changes it sought to impose in Massachusetts' government in the Coercive Acts in 1775 probably would have been the rule of thumb in every colony.

How would it be different?

Real timeline

1774

Intolerable Acts passed
The Intolerable, or Coercive, Acts are passed by the British government in early-1774 in response to the perceived lawlessness of the Boston Tea Party – a colonial uprising many years in the making.
1774

Continental Congress held
The First Continental Congress is formed and they agree to oppose the Intolerable Acts. From early on there's a sense that conflict is both inevitable and imminent.
1774

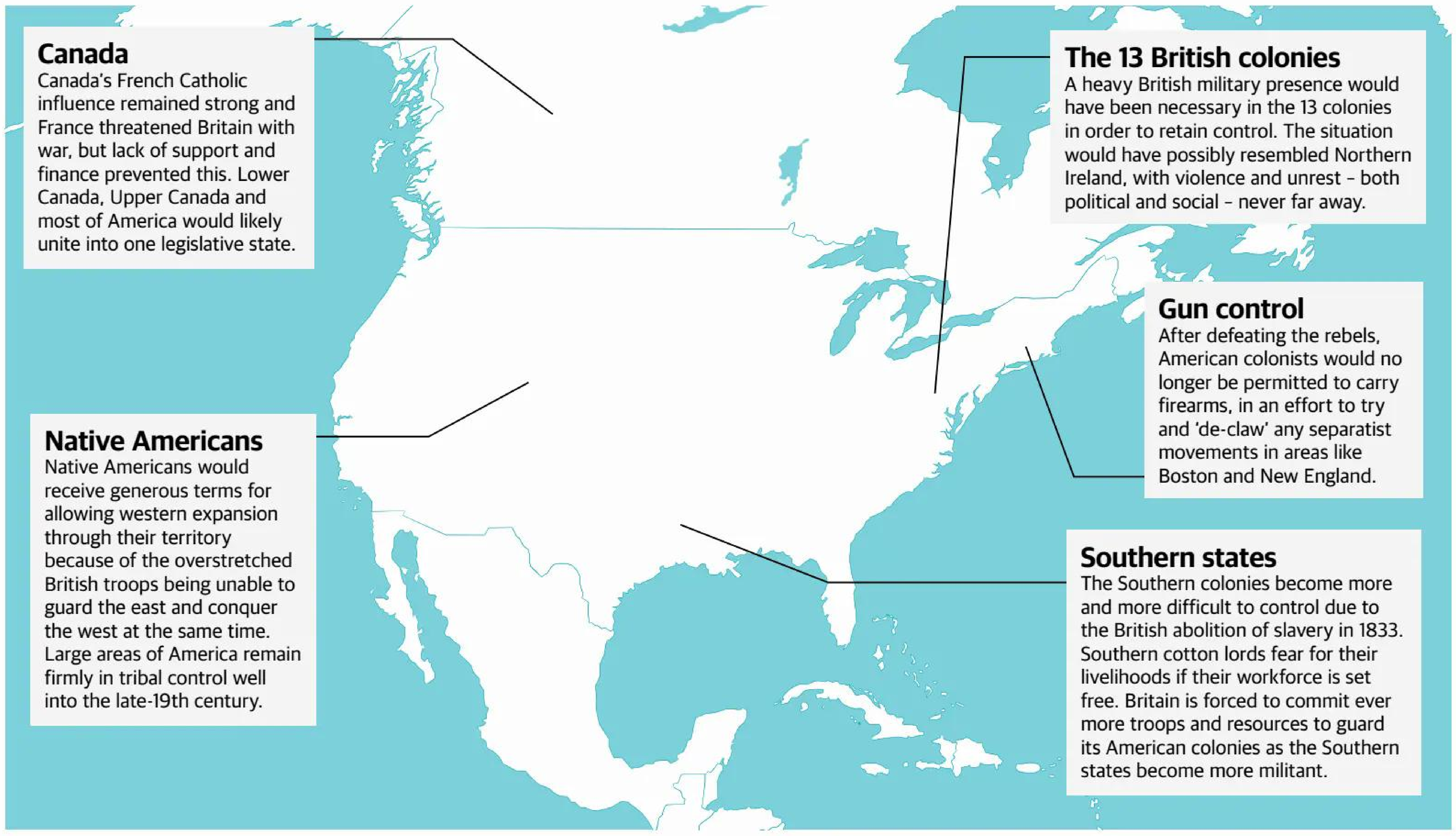
War begins
The first shots are fired in the war, with the opening conflict at Lexington involving local Massachusetts militia (the formation of which had been suggested by the First Continental Congress in 1774) and British forces.
19 April 1775

Battle of Bunker Hill
In this major battle, Patriot troops bravely resist a repeated British assault, only to be eventually worn down by the sheer numbers and persistence of the enemy – plus a lack of ammunition. The British lose massive numbers but prevail to take Bunker Hill.
17 June 1775

Britain rejects peace
In the summer of 1775, King George III ignores the Second Continental Congress's Olive Branch Petition, and the war continues apace. In May 1776, King Louis XVI of France solves the Americans' munitions problem by granting a huge donation. Soon after the US Declaration of Independence is voted in on 4 July 1776.
1775-1776

Real timeline

Alternate timeline



Canada
Canada's French Catholic influence remained strong and France threatened Britain with war, but lack of support and finance prevented this. Lower Canada, Upper Canada and most of America would likely unite into one legislative state.

Native Americans
Native Americans would receive generous terms for allowing western expansion through their territory because of the overstretched British troops being unable to guard the east and conquer the west at the same time. Large areas of America remain firmly in tribal control well into the late-19th century.

The 13 British colonies
A heavy British military presence would have been necessary in the 13 colonies in order to retain control. The situation would have possibly resembled Northern Ireland, with violence and unrest – both political and social – never far away.

Gun control
After defeating the rebels, American colonists would no longer be permitted to carry firearms, in an effort to try and 'de-claw' any separatist movements in areas like Boston and New England.

Southern states
The Southern colonies become more and more difficult to control due to the British abolition of slavery in 1833. Southern cotton lords fear for their livelihoods if their workforce is set free. Britain is forced to commit ever more troops and resources to guard its American colonies as the Southern states become more militant.

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Do you think Australia would have still been developed as a penal colony if the 13 American colonies had remained under British control?
SC: New South Wales in Australia was established as a penal colony, but if the North American colonies had remained British, there would have been less incentive to ship convicts so far. America was the cheaper option by a long way. Incidentally, the idea of imprisonment and reformation of convicts would have suffered a blow, as it was the end of transportation to the American colonies that provided an opportunity for reformers who argued that criminals should be incarcerated and improved, rather than executed or exported. More broadly, we can say that the loss of America saw a shift in British imperial focus towards the East – especially Asia. This so-called 'swing to the East' has perhaps been exaggerated, but there was undoubtedly a recalibration of imperial priorities. That said, expansion in India had already started, and would probably have continued, though not perhaps at the same pace.

RA: Probably. Britain's real colonial interests in the 1770s were not America, but India, Jamaica and Barbados. And so Britain wanted control of sea routes to India, and also direct trade with China. Australia would be useful to both.

If Britain had retained control of America, how might this have impacted 20th-century events like WWI?
SC: If we assume that the British had won the war, and the colonies had remained subject to the British crown, they would no doubt have entered World War I in the same manner as the British Dominions in 1914. Whether that would have tilted the balance in favour of the Allies and against Germany/Austria-Hungary is impossible to say; maybe a still-dependent America would not have industrialised so quickly and its population would have been smaller, with the result that the addition of strength was nowhere near as great as it was in 1917-18 [when they actually entered WWI].

JF: My understanding is that Britain made a concerted effort to smooth relations with the US beginning around 1890, which proved helpful during World War I. How that war would have been seen in an America that was tied to Britain as colonies or in a Commonwealth arrangement is difficult to know. Canada did not need any prodding to back London in 1914. However, there was a deep strain of resentment in America in 1776 (one can find it in Thomas Paine and Benjamin Franklin) at the colonies having been dragged repeatedly into that 'old rotten state's plundering wars' (Franklin). Such a sentiment might only have hardened over time and, as for many in Ireland, a European war might have been the spark for many Americans to rise up in favour of breaking away from Britain.

Washington for the win
George Washington carries out a surprise attack on the British contingency at Trenton, NJ. The Patriots claim a decisive victory, boosting morale.
1776

British surrender
The British army surrenders at Yorktown on 19 October 1781. In February of the following year, the British government decides to abandon the war.
1781-1782

Another war
The US declares war on Britain, reopening the conflict. The prior conflict has overshadowed the 1812 War, but *The Star-Spangled Banner* anthem dates from this time.
1812-1815

US enters WWI
Having preferred a policy of neutrality, and with concern for trade with Britain in mind, America enters WWI, and US soldiers fight alongside the Brits.
April 1917

Battle of Long Island
Sir William Howe, C-in-C of British forces, claims victory at Long Island. The Americans try to escape to Manhattan, but the British cut them off. George Washington is killed.
27 August 1776

Britain faces new enemy
Support for America grows in Europe, particularly in France, and on 10 July 1778 France declares war on Britain. The French navy plays a key role.
1777-1778

Penal colonies
The 13 American colonies along the Atlantic coast serve as the main destination for UK transportation. Far fewer convicts are sent to Australia.
1790

France invades Spain
King Louis XVIII, angered by what was seen as Spain's gross betrayal in selling 'French' Louisiana, orders the invasion of Spain, but retreats when Britain weighs in.
1823

American population booms
Controlled immigration into British North America has gradually increased, with transportation of criminals to both America and Australia ending in 1868.
1868

Anglo-American Agreement
This pact officially ends the war. Patriot supporters who don't flee are imprisoned or hung, including key leaders like John Adams and Benjamin Franklin. Britain goes on to cement her hold of the colonies.
1776

Louisiana purchase
With France effectively bankrupted by its support for the American Revolutionary War, Spain is courted by the British government and persuaded to release Louisiana. Britain purchases the territory at a discount.
1803

Act of union
Lower Canada, Upper Canada and the American colonies are united into British North America. The British government appeases the French by granting trade with the regions that France had ceded.
1840-1867

What if… Alexander Hamilton had become president?

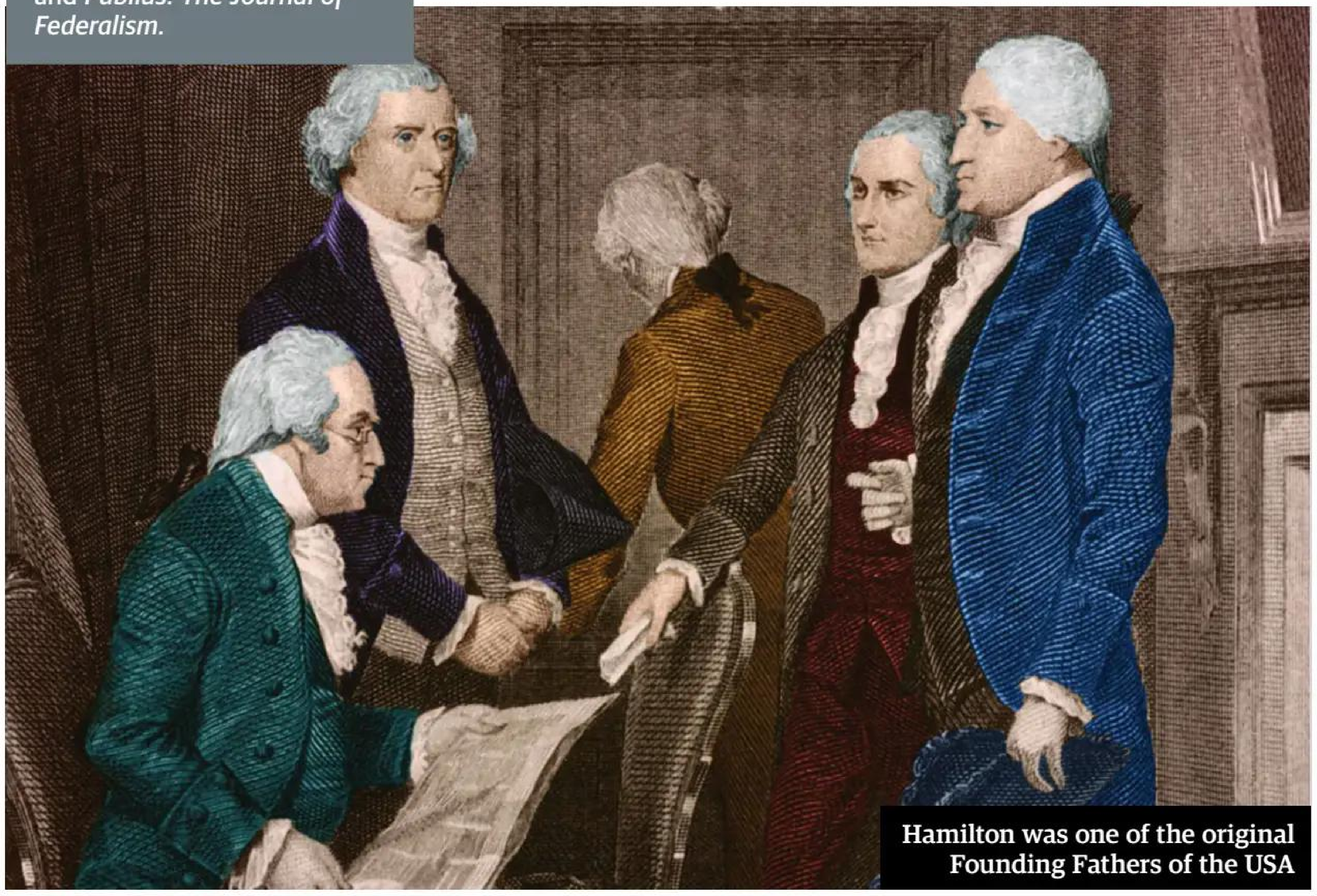
Did the US Founding Father, brave and brilliant yet impetuous and divisive, have the right stuff for the top job?

INTERVIEW WITH… DR GRACE MALLON

Photographer: Phillipa James

Grace is a junior research fellow at Oxford University's Rothermere American Institute. Her research focuses on law, politics and government in the American founding era. Her writing has appeared in *The Washington Post, Reviews in History,* and *Publius: The Journal of Federalism.*

Politicians in any era of history often attract controversy, or even scandal, polarising the views of those around them. Alexander Hamilton was no exception; a man whose character, behaviour and policies created deep division. It is easy for his flawed personality and impetuous nature to create an image of colourful dramatic folklore. And yet, although never centre stage, alone in the presidential spotlight, the brilliance of his work behind the scenes, his vision and forethought for his infant nation, created structures and practices that helped shape the modern USA. Hamilton's legacy still resonates in the modern era and, for many, he is the 'President Who Never Was'.



Hamilton was one of the original Founding Fathers of the USA

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What skills and experience did Hamilton have that could justify him as a potential presidential candidate?

Like George Washington and many others who served in government in the post-revolutionary United States, Hamilton had been a senior military officer during the Revolutionary War (1775-83). He had excellent credentials as a patriot. Like Thomas Jefferson and John Adams, he was qualified as a lawyer. Despite his low birth, he made a good marriage to Elizabeth Schuyler, daughter of the influential soldier and politician Philip Schuyler, and a descendant of New York's most powerful families. Perhaps most importantly Hamilton was a leading political activist. He was one of the framers of the US Constitution in the summer of 1787, and authored 51 of the Federalist essays, through which he and co-authors James Madison and John Jay hoped to sway the New York Ratifying Convention in favour of the Constitution. As the first US secretary of the treasury, Hamilton was also the author of several foundational financial policies and had considerable influence in other areas too. In fact, as Washington approached the end of his second term in 1796, his vice-president and 'heir apparent' Adams told his wife Abigail that he believed Hamilton would have enough support to succeed Washington as the nation's commander-in-chief.

What compromises and/or changes would have been necessary in Hamilton's political and personal life for him to succeed in office?

It is worth noting that there is an age qualification for the US presidency. According to the Constitution, the president must have "attained to the Age of thirty-five Years". There is some disagreement about when exactly he was born, but we know that Hamilton did not reach that age until January

Interview by David J Williamson. **Main image source:** © Alamy, © Getty Images

What if…

ALEXANDER HAMILTON HAD BECOME PRESIDENT?

The Past

1775-83

Revolutionary War

Determined to play as full a part as he could, Hamilton saw action a number of times, in particular the Battle of Princeton in 1777 as well as the Battle of Yorktown in 1781. As a lieutenant colonel he was aide to General George Washington, which began a long and sometimes fraught relationship. The American victory would see Hamilton become one of the Founding Fathers of the newly independent United States and a major contributor to the writing of the US Constitution. He was a great patriot but had practical views as to a future relationship with Britain.

1789-95

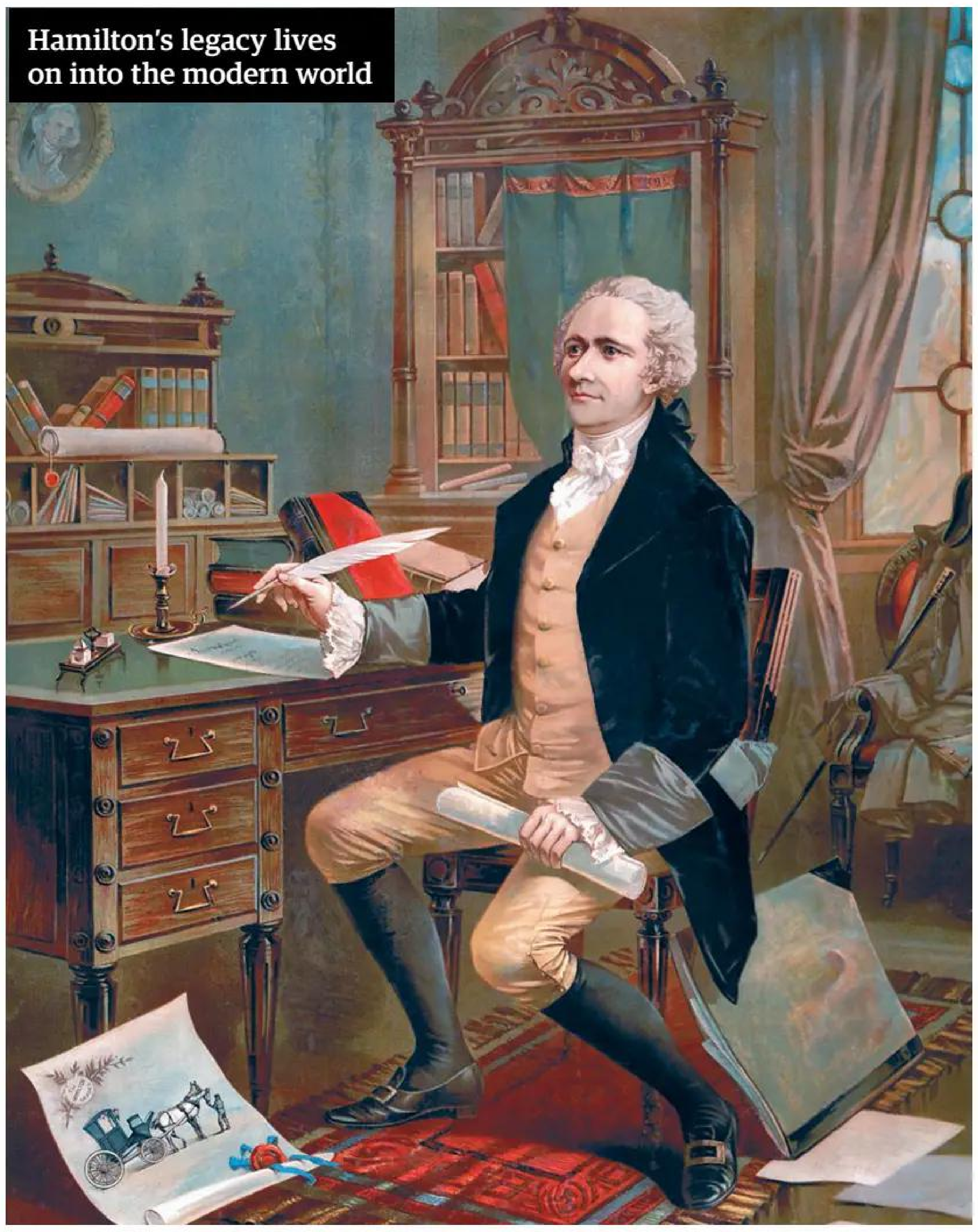
Money, Money, Money

As secretary of the treasury under Washington, Hamilton's vision was of a strong and centralised government, with a centralised bank. He set about debating and arguing his policy against sometimes fierce opposition. He prevailed, and in 1791 the First National Bank of the United States was created in Philadelphia. He also had the foresight of creating a single currency, the dollar, and the new National Mint began operating in 1793. The first coins were minted and circulated the following year, creating a currency that would, and still does, dominate trade and finance around the world.

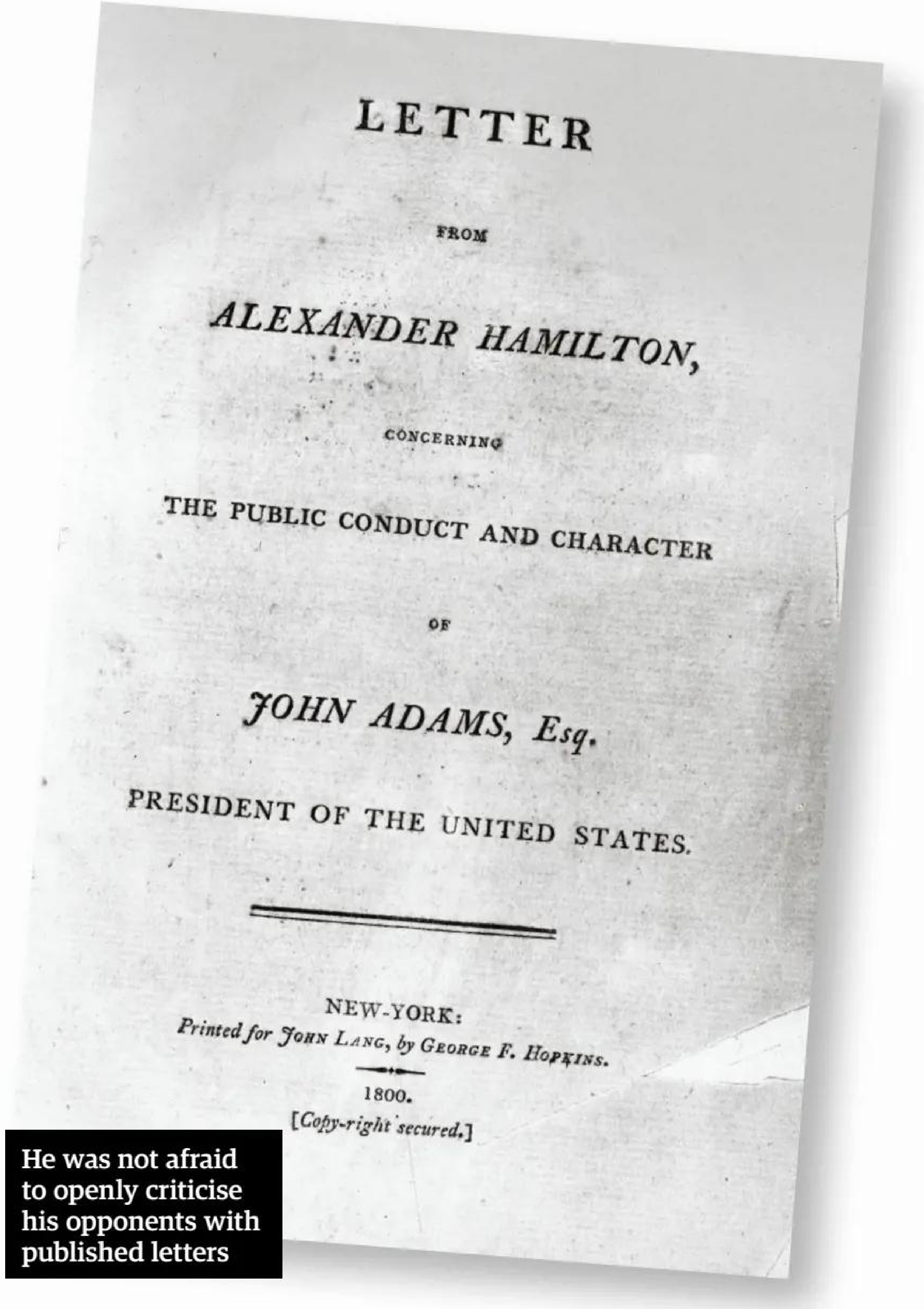
1804

An Untimely End

It was Hamilton's ability to make political enemies that would rob him of his life. Outspoken, arrogant and single-minded, he was adept at playing the political game in order to push his own views and supporters. But with Aaron Burr, presidential candidate and political adversary, he would push too far. Hamilton's public criticism of Burr's character and abilities reached boiling point and in June 1804, despite his position as US vice-president, Burr challenged Hamilton to a duel to defend his honour. In July 1804 the two men faced each other with loaded pistols. Accounts vary as to who fired first, but Hamilton suffered a mortal wound and died the next day.



Hamilton's legacy lives on into the modern world



LETTER

FROM

ALEXANDER HAMILTON,

CONCERNING

THE PUBLIC CONDUCT AND CHARACTER

OF

JOHN ADAMS, Esq.

PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES.

NEW-YORK:
Printed for John Lang, *by* George F. Hopkins.
1800.
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He was not afraid to openly criticise his opponents with published letters

1790 at the earliest. He would've been too young to run in the first presidential election, and he would never have stood against Washington, so if we are to imagine him running for president, we must imagine him running in 1796 or 1800.

If he had run for president, Hamilton would've had to moderate his politics and his personality quite significantly. From early on in his career, he developed a reputation as an extremist within his own party. At the 1787 Constitutional Convention, Hamilton seemed to suggest that the state governments should be abolished under the new Constitution, horrifying his fellow delegates. The economic policy programme he pursued while secretary of the treasury generated considerable opposition in Congress and in the states. Hamilton encouraged President Washington to put down the 1794 Whiskey Rebellion, not by negotiating with the so-called rebels but by raising a 12,000-man army and suppressing the unrest by force. His opponents saw Hamilton as someone who wanted to restore the spirit of the British Empire in America – monarchism, militarism and manufacturing. After their hard-fought victory in the Revolutionary War, many Americans were fearful of this.

He could've written the book on 'How to Lose Friends and Alienate People' two centuries before Toby Young! He scandalised Jefferson with his openly pro-British attitude and fell out so badly with Adams as to produce a schism in the Federalist Party, of which they were both members. Hamilton would've struggled to hold together a coalition of differing interests in support of his political programme, a key skill in party management.

His personal life was no less tricky, especially after he publicly confessed to an affair with a married woman, Maria Reynolds. It would also have served his political career rather better if he had avoided getting himself killed in an 1804 duel with Aaron Burr.

Which political figures would've been the winners and losers in a Hamilton administration and why?

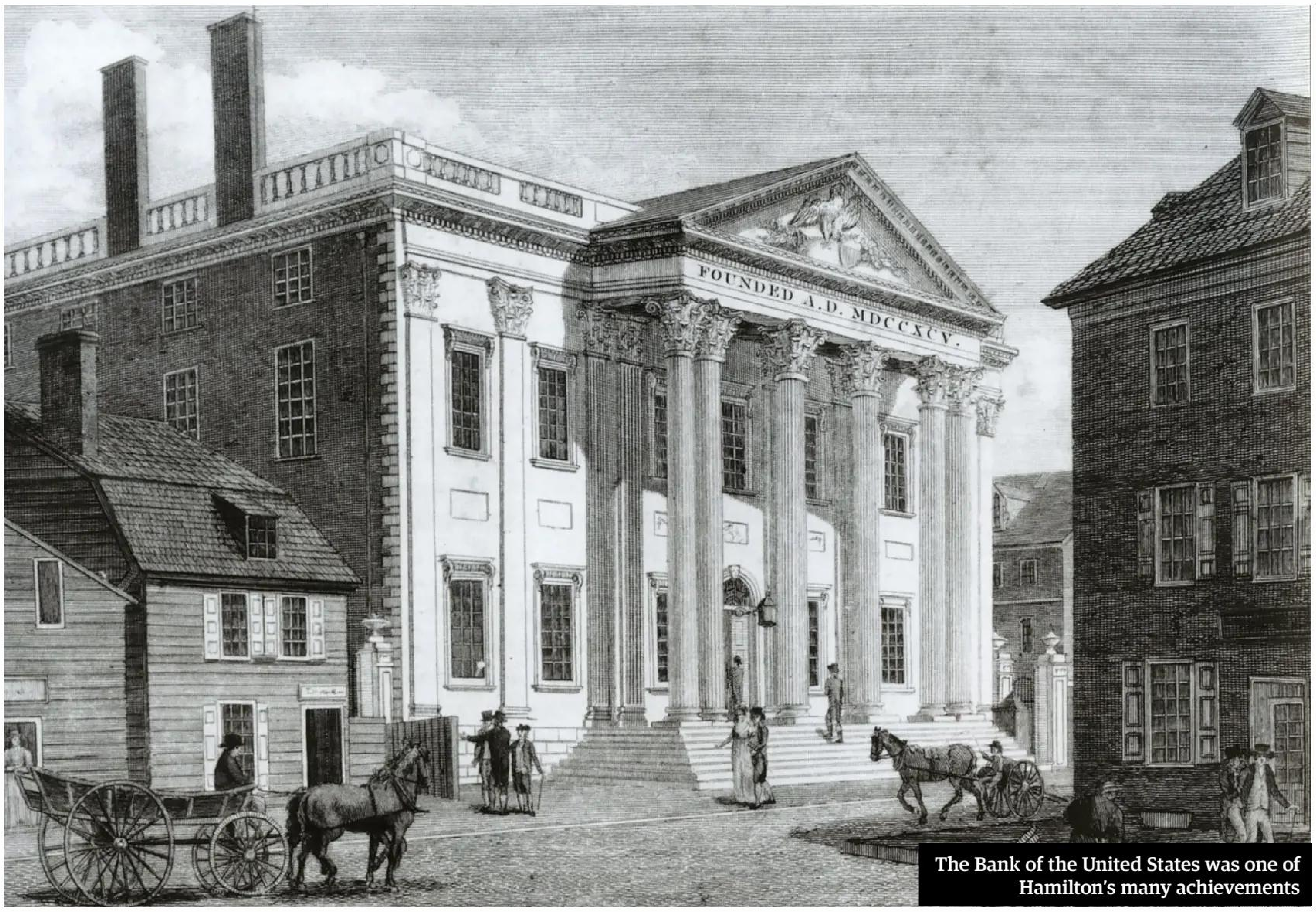
Hamilton's ascendancy would have been bad news for fellow Federalist Adams. Throughout the late 1790s in particular, their mutual antagonism was perhaps the defining feature of politics within the Federalist Party. Hamilton was openly disdainful of Adams and went so far as to campaign against him in the run-up to the presidential election of 1800. The other major loser would have been Jefferson, the figurehead of the opposition, and, by extension, Jefferson's supporters. The winners would probably have been those who shared in Hamilton's brand of 'High Federalism' and favoured a powerful US government. People like Oliver Wolcott Jr and Timothy Pickering would have done well out of a Hamilton presidency.

How might he have used his office to drive social reform, and how far might he have tried to go?

Hamilton, like many Northern politicians, was not in favour of affording excessive influence in government to the Southern plantation aristocracy. He was also a member of the New York Manumission Society, an anti-slavery organisation. These facts, and his portrayal in the *Hamilton* musical, have suggested to some that he was rather more openly and actively anti-slavery than he was in real life. Many of the political leaders of Hamilton's generation made anti-slavery gestures by supporting societies of this kind, though few of them were actually prepared to bear the personal or political costs of abolition. His wife's family, the Schuylers, owned slaves, and evidence has recently come to light that suggests Hamilton may also have bought, sold and owned slaves himself.

How differently would the economy and foreign policy have developed under Hamilton?

He had extraordinary influence over policy as Washington's secretary of the treasury. Much of what the Washington administration is remembered for in policy terms came


FOUNDED A.D. MDCCXCV.

The Bank of the United States was one of Hamilton's many achievements

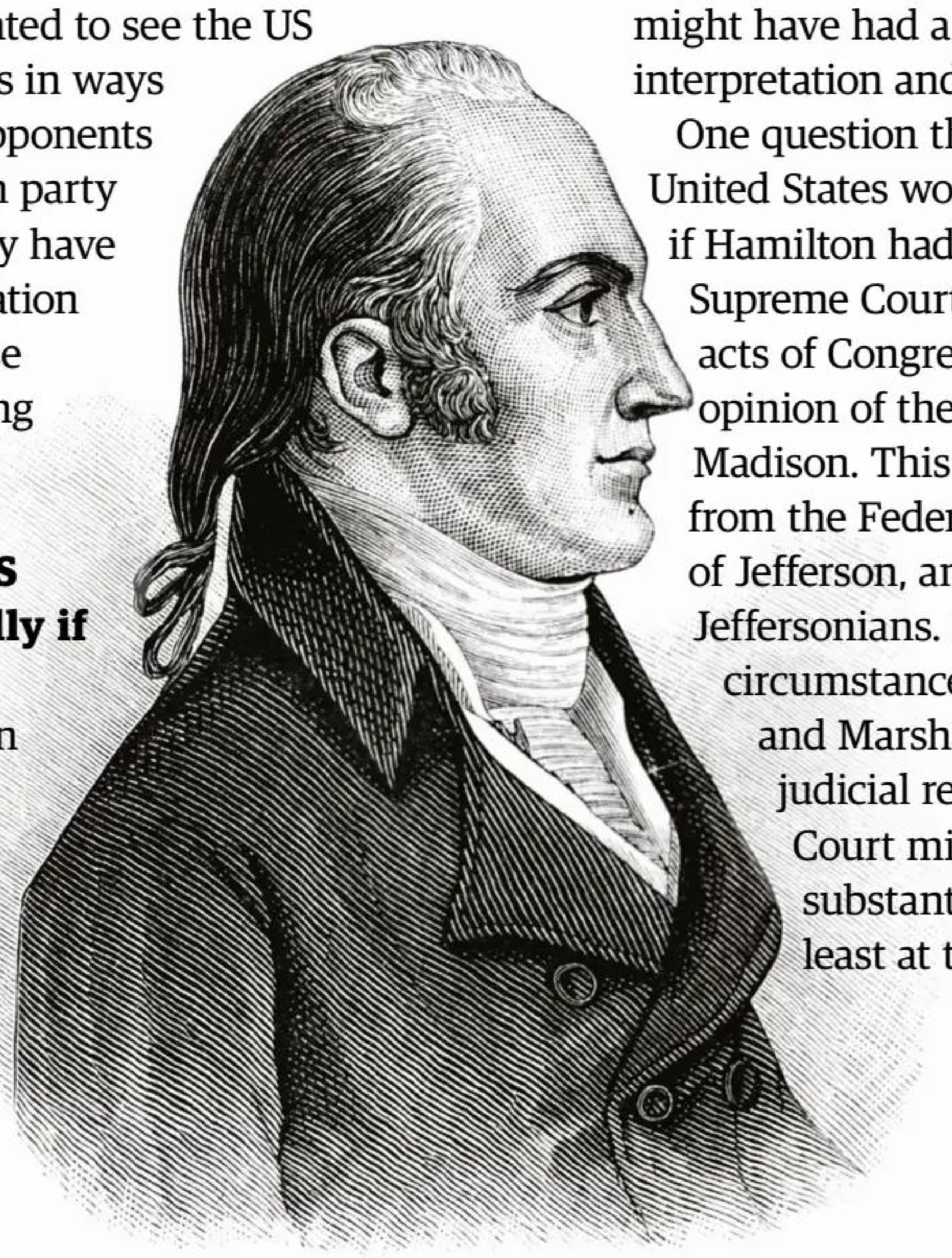
from Hamilton, so in a real sense Hamilton did not need to become president to have an enormous impact on the history of American government. Even the Jeffersonians, who actively sought to dismantle Hamilton's legacy, left in place large parts of the national financial infrastructure he'd created. But Hamilton's policy priorities did diverge in important ways from those of Washington, Adams and especially Jefferson. He was strongly in favour of using the federal government's power to encourage the growth of industrial manufacturing in the US and would doubtless have worked hard to promote that development while president. He would certainly have prioritised a positive relationship with Great Britain over a strong relationship with France, and might have tried to avoid the breakdown in that Anglo-American relationship that ultimately led to the War of 1812. Hamilton wanted to see the US develop its military capabilities in ways that made both his political opponents and some members of his own party uncomfortable. He would likely have encouraged the professionalisation of the military more than those presidents who did serve during his lifetime.

How different might the US have looked constitutionally if he'd had his way?

Both Washington and Jefferson stepped down as president after two terms, despite the fact that each of them had enough political support to run for election again, and that in the 18th and 19th centuries there was no constitutional limit to how many times they could run. It seems doubtful, however, that President Hamilton would've stepped down after two terms, and he might even have established a precedent for three- or four-term presidencies in the 19th century.

Hamilton's preference for a broad interpretation of the powers of the US government under the Constitution was showcased through his role in the establishment of the Bank of the United States during the First Federal Congress, when he argued that Congress had the power to charter corporations, despite the fact that this was nowhere explicitly mentioned in the constitutional text. It's likely that he would have relied on this kind of argument as president, which might have had a longer-term impact on both constitutional interpretation and the de facto powers of the US government.

One question that presents itself is when, or whether, the United States would have developed federal judicial review if Hamilton had won a presidential election in 1800. The Supreme Court granted itself the power to overturn acts of Congress through Chief Justice John Marshall's opinion of the court in the 1803 case of Marbury v Madison. This complex case arose out of the transition from the Federalist regime of Adams to the presidency of Jefferson, and the conflict between Federalists and Jeffersonians. If that transition had not taken place, the circumstances of the case might never have arisen, and Marshall might not have needed to create federal judicial review to resolve it. As a result, the Supreme Court might not have been able to exert such a substantial influence over federal law and policy, at least at that time.



Aaron Burr mortally wounded Hamilton in a duel in 1804

The Possibility

1796 – 1804

The Special Relationship is born early

Hamilton had proposed the president and elected representatives should hold office for life unless found to act improperly or illegally. This prompted criticism that he wanted a kind of monarchy and that his affiliations were too close to Britain. He certainly saw Britain as a major trading partner, and as president he may have furthered this relationship. This would've avoided support for Britain's adversaries, especially the French, and averted any direct conflict that led to the War of 1812.

1796 TO ??

Run, Run, Run

With no official restrictions at this time to the number of terms a president could serve, and given his political passion and self-belief, had Hamilton become president he would have stayed in office for as long as possible. He would've wanted his ideas and policies to be truly embedded into the US political systems and way of life. Such stability couldhave seen the US develop into the same world political and military superpower, but perhaps much sooner. And for a man who relished standing up for his views and taking on his opponents, a long stay in office would have made presidency even more alluring.

1865

One Flag, One Nation

As a Federalist, Hamilton was a staunch believer in a stronger, single, federal government at the expense of the power of the individual states. He was also vocal and politically active in his views against slavery. Recent study has questioned this view, but if Hamilton as president had had his way then a move to a strong industrial economy, including in the Southern states, could've meant more direct pressure by central government to end slavery long before its abolition in 1865. Such economic cohesion could have played a major role in avoiding the schism between the North and South that led to the US Civil War.

19th Century

Find out what might have been for the new nation as it found its feet

36 What if... Napoleon escaped to the United States?

40 What if... Mexico defeats the United States?

44 What if... The Underground Railroad had never been formed?

48 What if... The slave states had won?

52 What if... Abraham Lincoln hadn't been assassinated?

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HYPERBOREAN OCEAN
SOUTHERN OCE
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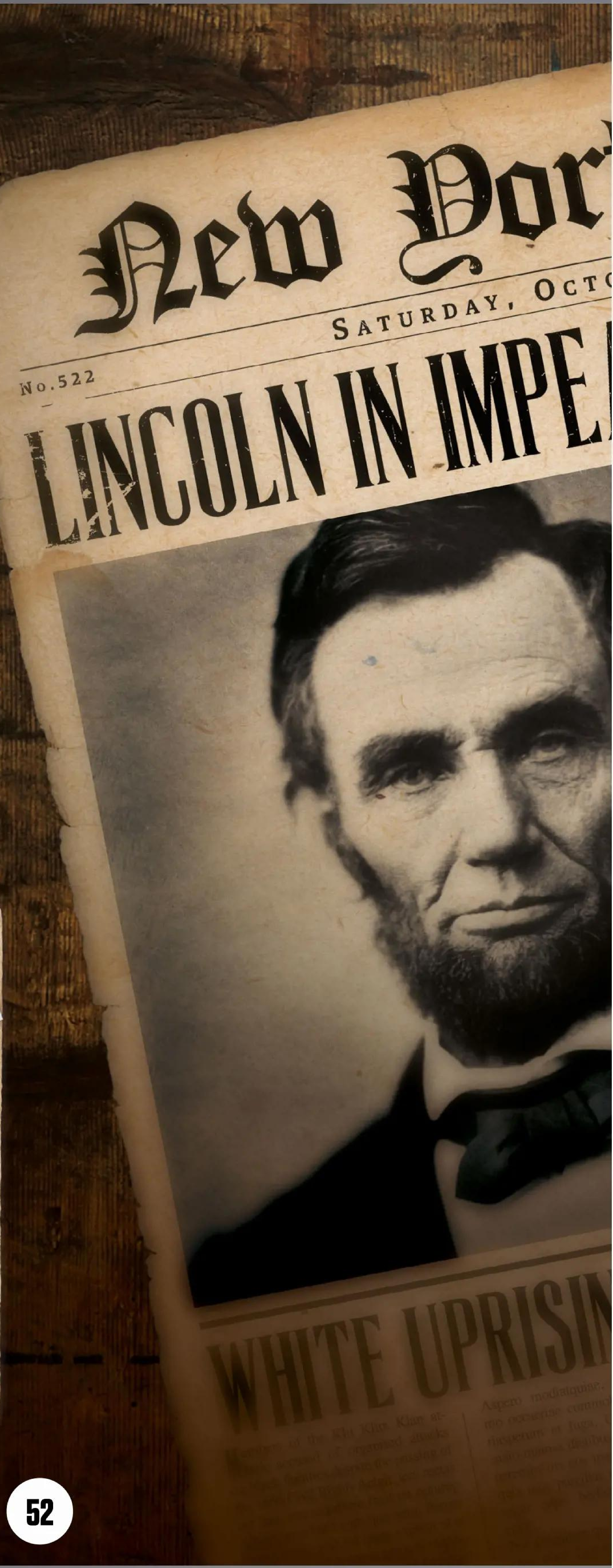

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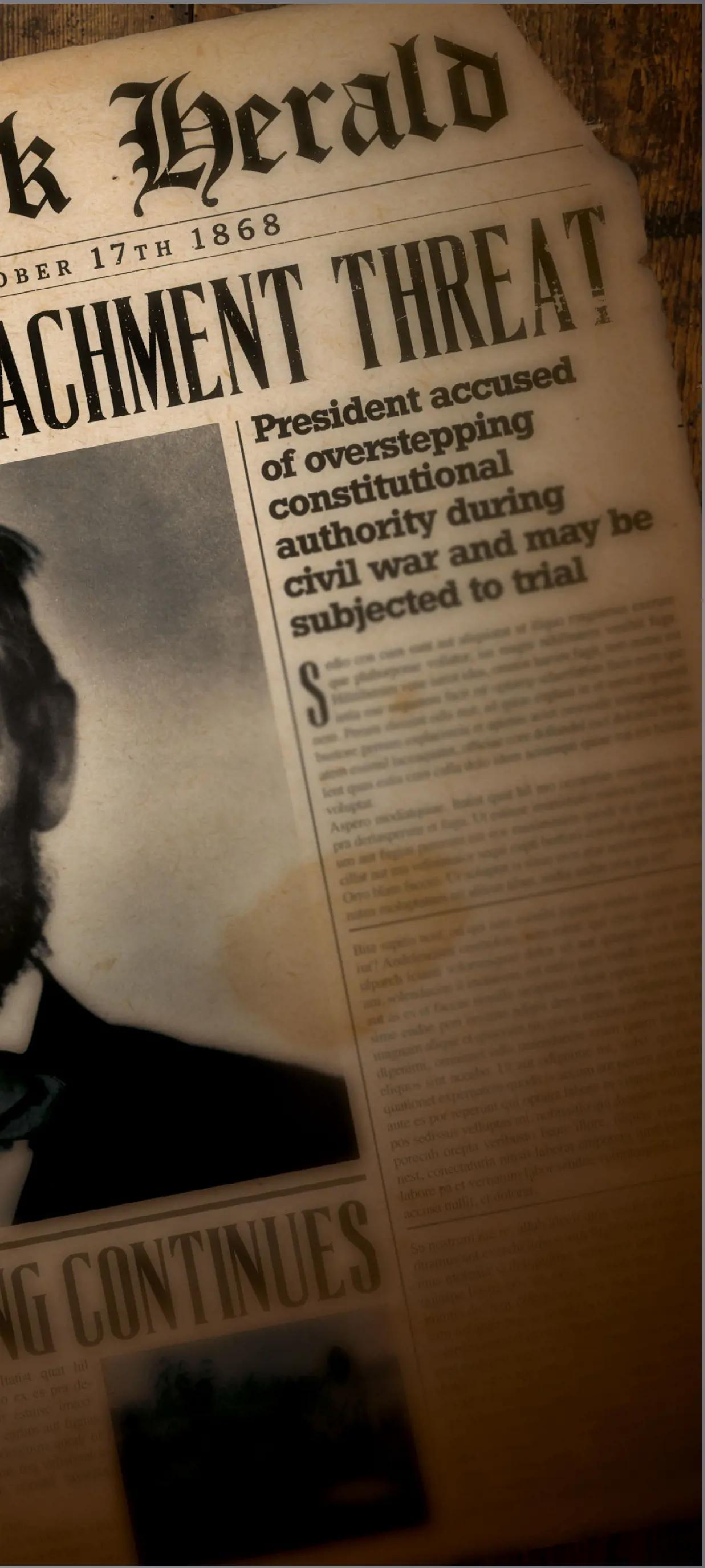


k Herald

OBER 17TH 1868

ACHMENT THREAT

President accused of overstepping constitutional authority during civil war and may be subjected to trial

NG CONTINUES

CANADA
NORTH AMERICA
UNITED STATES
GULF OF MEXICO
MEXICO
CUBA
BAHAMAS
CARIBBEAN
Dallas
New Orleans
Havana
Chicago
New York
Washington, DC
Monterrey
Guadalajara
Mexico City
Puebla
Veracruz

40

ROUTES OF THE UNDERGROUND RAILROAD 1830 - 1865
WISCONSIN
IOWA
ILLINOIS
INDIANA
OHIO
MISSOURI
KENTUCKY
TENNESSEE
MINNESOTA

44

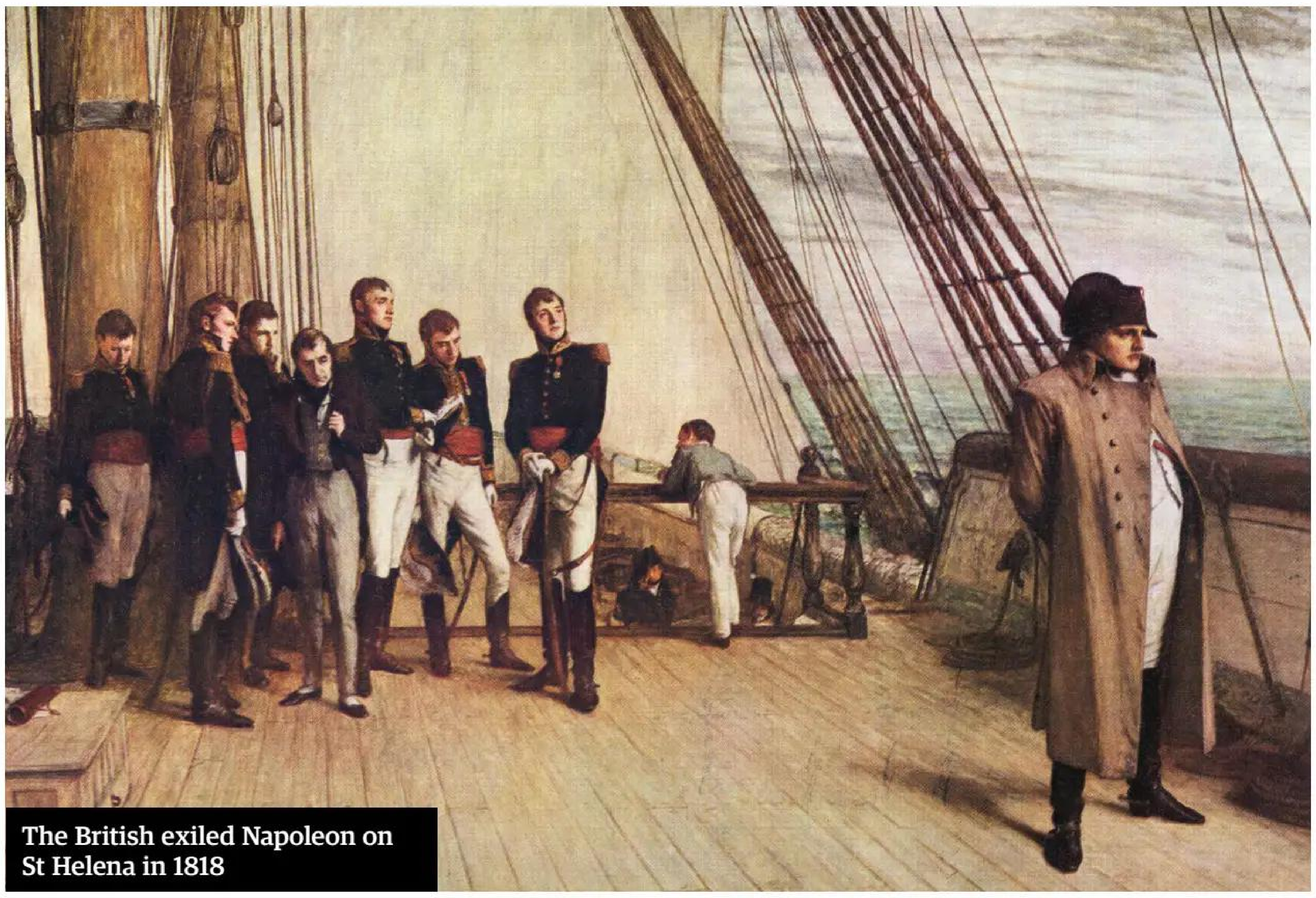
What if…
Napoleon escaped to the United States?

Eluding exile, a belligerent Napoleon declares himself King of Mexico and has his sights set on returning to the French throne

INTERVIEW WITH… SHANNON SELIN

Shannon Selin is a historical fiction writer and the author of *Napoleon in America*, which explores what might have happened if Napoleon had made it to the United States.

What happened after Napoleon was defeated at the Battle of Waterloo in June 1815?
He abdicated from the French throne, and he had to figure out what to do, as the allies were potentially going to come and capture him. He spent a bit of time sitting around Paris, waiting to see what was going to happen, and then he went to the French coast, to Rochefort. He thought he was going to get passports, possibly to go to the United States. However once he got there, he found that the passports he had been hoping for were not forthcoming. So there was dithering back and forth in the port about what Napoleon was going to do. Some of his followers went to see whether American ships were willing to escape the British blockade. Napoleon decided in the end he wasn't going to try this option, because he didn't think it would be to his dignity to hide himself and go to the US as a fugitive. He wrote a special letter to the Prince Regent, saying he was going to put himself at the mercy of the British people. He got on a ship that took him to Plymouth, but it wasn't until he got to Plymouth that he discovered the British were going to send him to St Helena [where he would live in exile until his death on 5 May 1821].



The British exiled Napoleon on St Helena in 1818

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Why did Napoleon consider going to America?
He had been reading a book by Alexander von Humboldt, who was a great German naturalist of the 19th century, about the US, and this seemed appealing to him. He thought it was an attractive destination, and he could perhaps do some scientific exploration there, or just retreat as a private gentleman essentially. He talked about retiring on the banks of the Mississippi or the Ohio River, and about travelling around the Americas on a scientific expedition.

So would he have lived a quiet life in America?
If you look at what the options would have been, the first is just to settle peacefully. That's what his brother Joseph Bonaparte did. Another of his options would have been to attempt to gather his followers there and to peacefully start a colony, creating a sort of new mini-France within the US. That's something he fantasised of doing when he was on St Helena. And in fact the Bonapartists who did flee to the US actually did try to start colonies in Alabama and also in Texas.

There was some argument that perhaps the purpose [of these colonies] was to rescue Napoleon from St Helena, and put him on the Mexican throne. The third possibility is this Texas expedition, which Napoleon might have got involved in if he was really in search of a new throne. He might have got involved in launching an invasion of Spain's American colonies, because most of them were seeking independence from Spain at that point.

There were revolutionary wars going on in these places, and the most obvious candidate if he was in the US would have been Mexico. At one point when he was on St Helena and learned that Joseph had successfully reached the US, Napoleon said if he was in his place he would build a great empire in all of Spanish America. So there are some hints that this was playing on his mind.

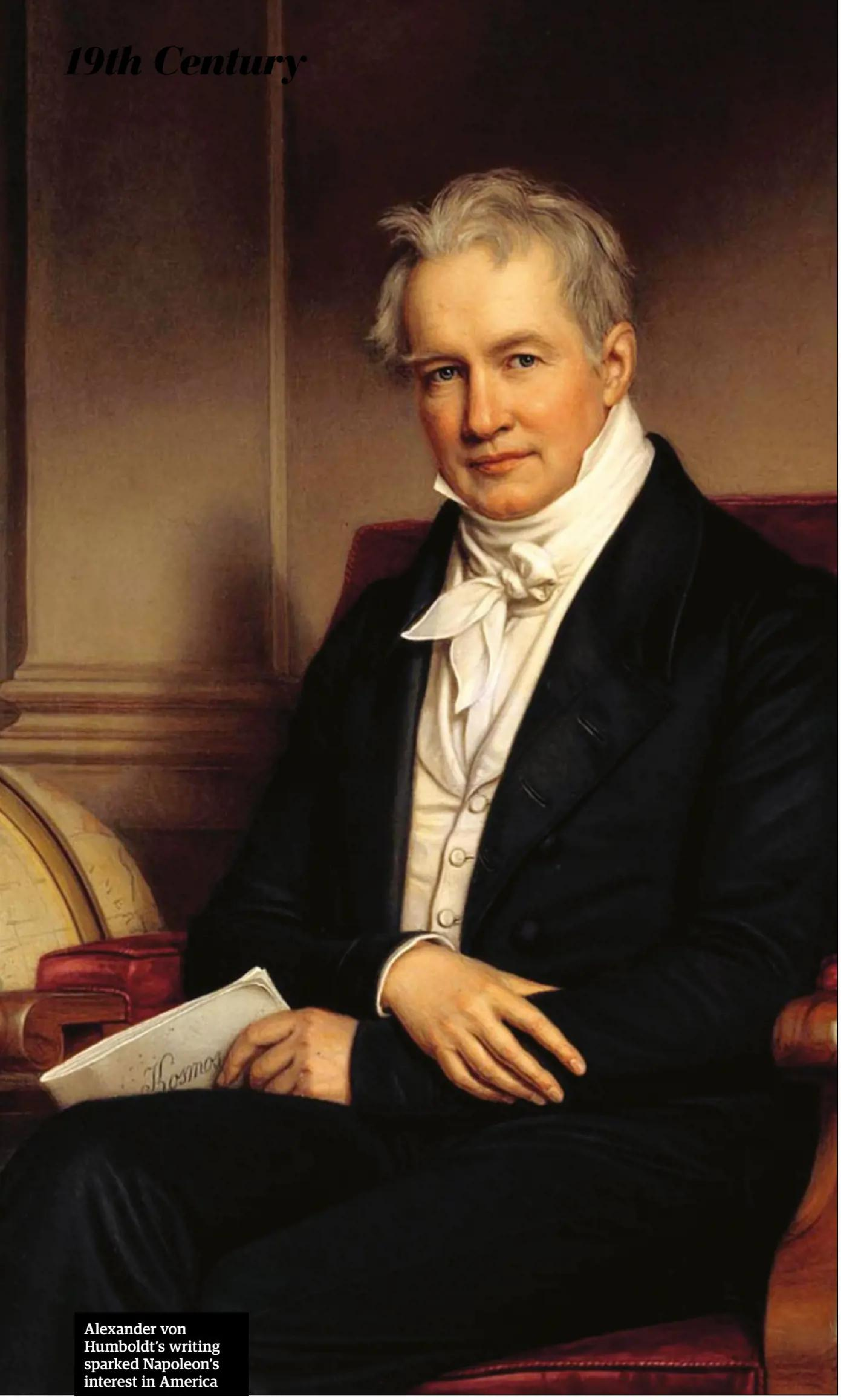
Main image (combination) © Alamy, and Getty

SOUTH AMERICA
PERU
BRASIL

If he had started a colony in the US, would that have been tolerated?
Given Napoleon's penchant for governance, this would have caused friction with the Americans, but would not necessarily have greatly altered world history – the exception being if he tried to do it in Louisiana, where there was a sizeable French-speaking population and Napoleon was well regarded. This could ultimately have led to an attempt to secede, which would have been resisted by the American government.

Could Napoleon have had a lasting impact on the Americas?
I don't think he could have done anything comparable with what he did in Europe, because he didn't have the infrastructure, the familiarity with the culture or the political situation there or the geography. And he just didn't have the number of followers that were needed. Where he could have had an influence would have been in Spanish America, lending his support to one of the groups there. But there were so many individual players there, and in that stage of his life his health was declining. He died of cancer in 1821, and the symptoms were already showing as early as 1818. He was passed his prime. I don't think the fire was still in his belly in the way it had been earlier.

> "Napoleon, in search of a new throne, might have tried to launch an invasion of one of Spain's American colonies"



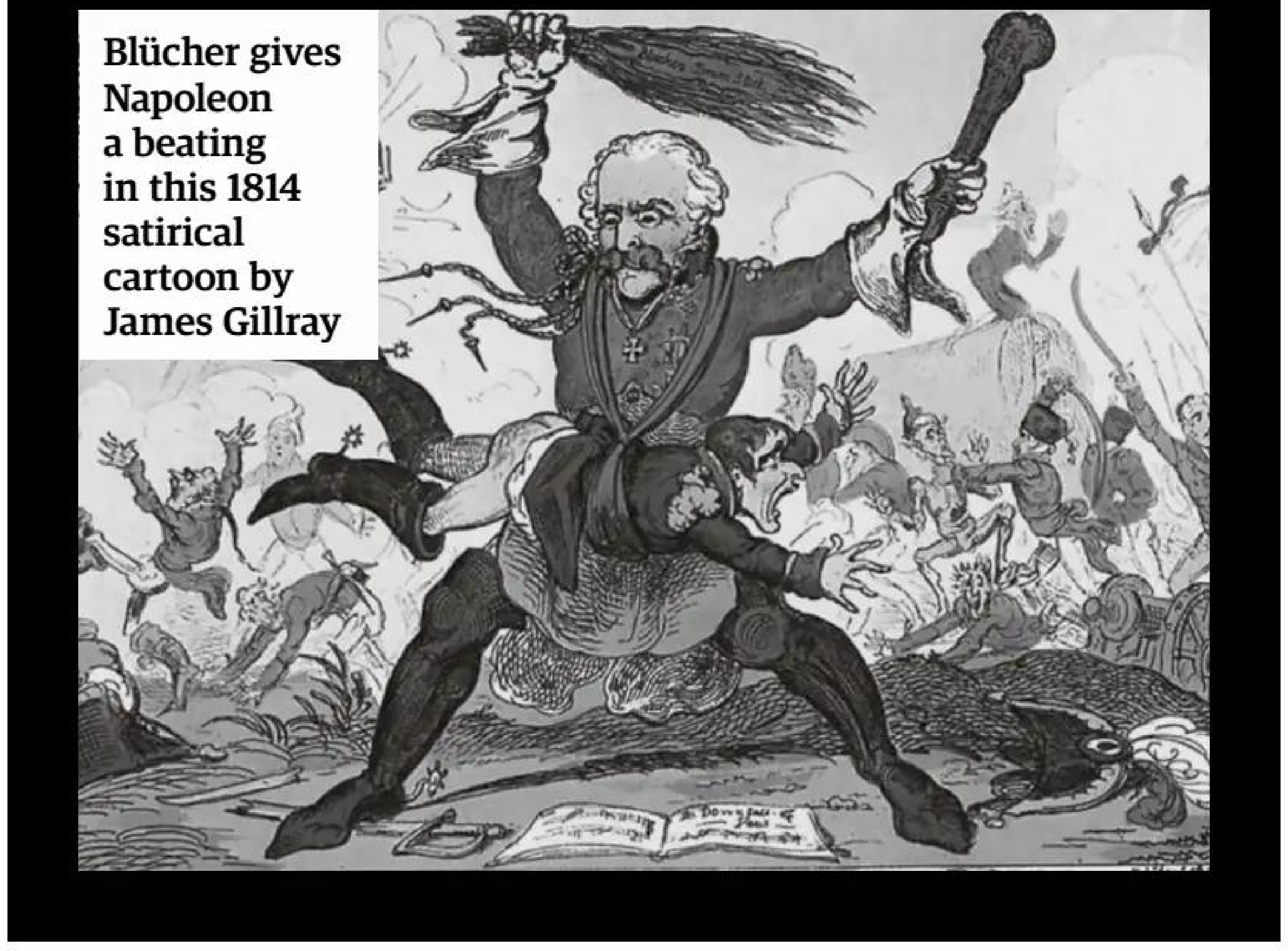
Alexander von Humboldt's writing sparked Napoleon's interest in America

PRUSSIA ON THE RISE

Victory at Waterloo was as much a victory for the Kingdom of Prussia, as it was for Great Britain, and the Prussian commander Gebhard Leberecht von Blücher had agitated for Napoleon's execution rather than exile.

If the Emperor had continued to make trouble and flee his isolated island internment, Prussia's hardline stance might have been vindicated and Britain would have been left humiliated on the world stage.

In response, Europe's great powers may have looked to Berlin for an answer to the 'Napoleon problem', rather than London, perhaps resulting in a more punative occupation of France and a Prussian-led Eighth Coalition. Finding allies in a Spain smarting from the loss of their American possessions, a new balance of power may have emerged on the continent, viewing France as a rogue state, and Britain as the weak link in the international order.



Blücher gives Napoleon a beating in this 1814 satirical cartoon by James Gillray

Would he have changed the outcome of any of the independence revolutions in Central or South America?

Napoleon, in search of a new throne, might have tried to launch an invasion of one of Spain's American colonies, which were then seeking independence. The most obvious candidate would have been Mexico, via Texas. There is some suggestion that Mexican patriots may have offered to put Joseph Bonaparte on the throne of an independent Mexico. Napoleon might also have meddled in other Spanish American colonies where his supporters had landed up. For example, Napoleonic General Michel Brayer briefly commanded the cavalry in Chile's independence army and allegedly lent his support to a reported plan to rescue Napoleon from St Helena.

Would Napoleon have been safe in America?

A very real possibility is that Napoleon would have been assassinated in America by a supporter of France's Bourbon regime [which ruled France in his stead]. Napoleon certainly feared that outcome, and it is one of the things that deterred him from going to America.

Is there any scenario where he returns to France?

He likely would have tried to undermine the Bourbon regime in some fashion, and try to drum up support to return to France, or for his young son to be placed on the French throne. But with the allies occupying France, I think the chances of that were quite slim.

He'd already had two kicks of the can, and the French people were tired of war and Napoleon at that point. The allied governments would have done everything in their power to stop him from coming back.

What would Napoleon's involvement have meant for the Americas?

If Napoleon had embarked on a military adventure in the Americas, it could have led to an attempt by Spain or France to intervene directly in the Americas. Or, if Napoleon had fiddled around in Texas, it could have provided the US with an excuse to take Texas earlier than it actually did [from Mexico

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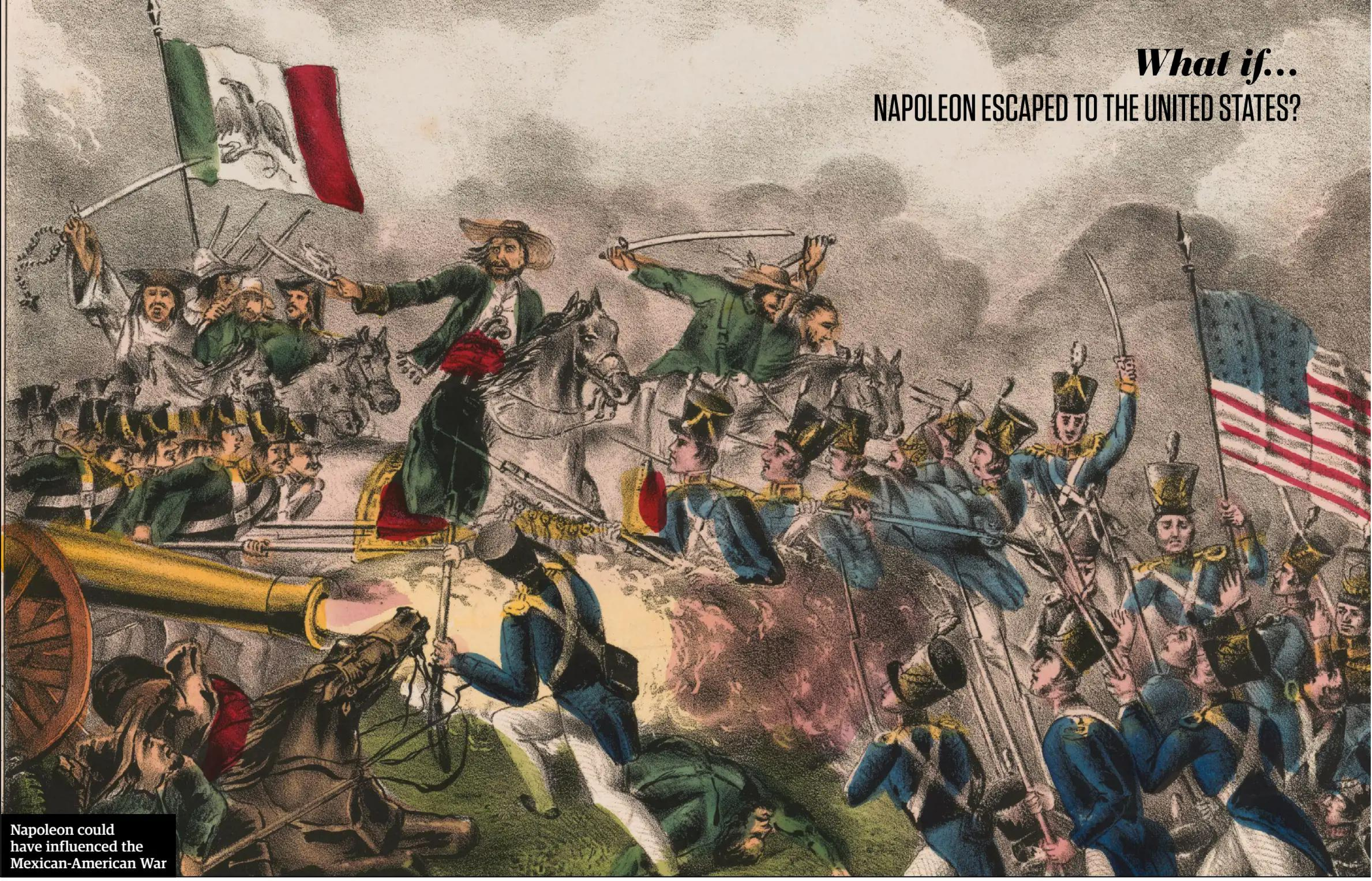


Napoleon could have influenced the Mexican-American War

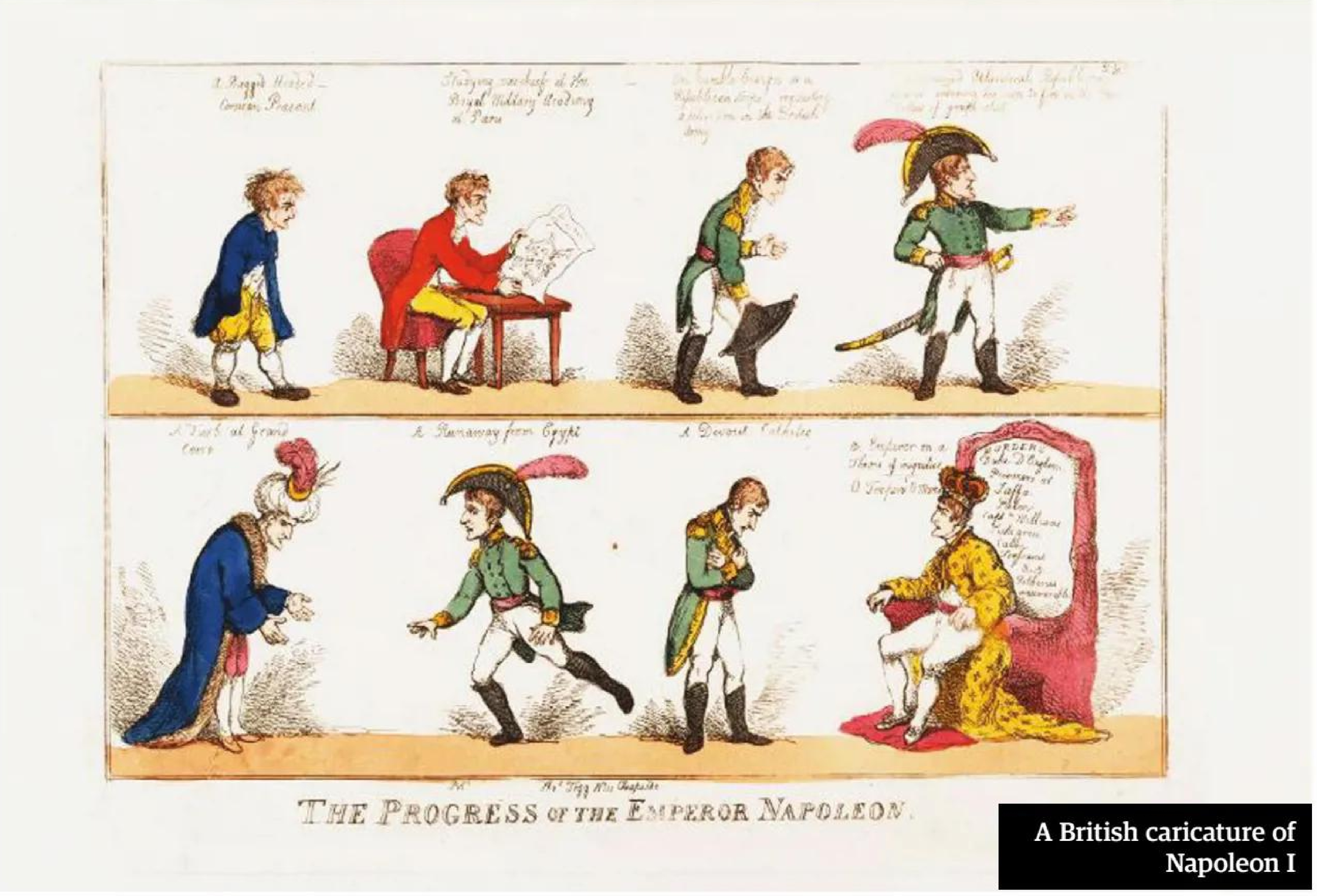
in 1845]. And Russia had posts on the west coast of North America at the time, and it might have taken a dvantage of the opportunity to take its toehold on the continent. Or Cuba could have wound up in French or British or American hands. So there are possibilities for how Napoleon could have had a lasting impact.

Is there a particular path for Napoleon that was most likely?
I like to think that the most likely might have been that he would have still undertaken a military venture. But speaking more as a historian, he would have lived peacefully, fretting about it, and possibly thinking more in terms of how to influence events in France or in Europe that would favour his son attaining the French throne at some point. His health at that stage of his life was not great, and he didn't have a large core of supporters around him. I don't think he would have had a large enough following to make a bit difference.

Would Napoleon going to America change the story of his life at all?
It was during that period [on St Helena] that Napoleon really built his reputation in a favourable fashion. He was dictating his memoirs there, he had sympathetic followers, and he was able to craft a real propaganda effort in his favour. Even within Britain, people began to refer to him much more sympathetically once he was on St Helena.

So if that St Helena period had not happened, his reputation may not have been the same today as it currently is. That could have cemented his reputation more as kind of a loser rather than as a great man in world history.

"Napoleon, in search of a new throne, might have tried to launch an invasion of one of Spain's American colonies"


A Ragged Headed Corsican Peasant
A Runaway from Egypt
A Devout Catholic
THE PROGRESS OF THE EMPEROR NAPOLEON

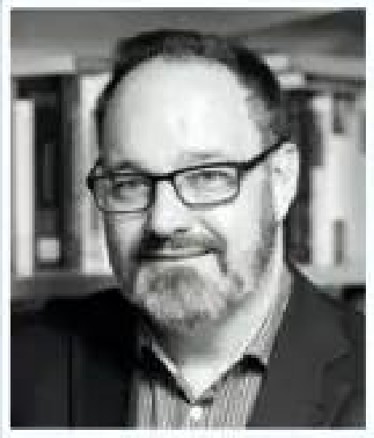
A British caricature of Napoleon I

What if…

Mexico defeated the United States?

Could Mexico have claimed vast swathes of territory, including the potentially gold-rich California, in a huge blow to US expansion?

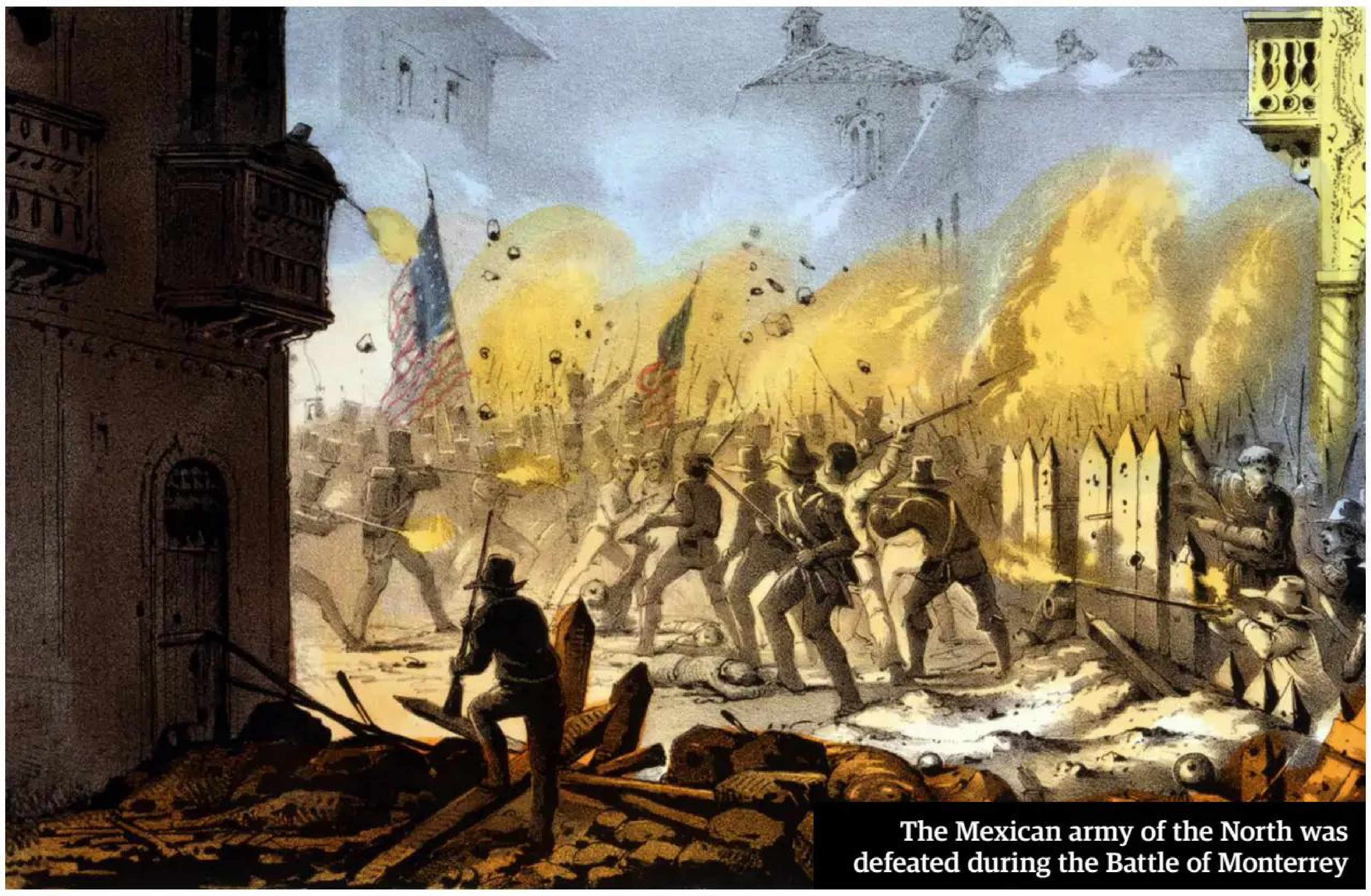
INTERVIEW WITH… PROFESSOR FRANK COGLIANO



Professor Cogliano is Professor of American History at the University of Edinburgh. His research interests include the history of revolutionary and early national America, including the Mexican-American War.

What was the background to the Mexican-American War of 1846-48?

The United States in the early 19th century had a rapidly growing population, particularly in the west. [This] put it on a collision course with the Republic of Mexico, which had acquired its independence in the 1820s and claimed much of the territory in what is now the southwest of the United States, and indeed the Pacific Coast of the United States. So in the 1840s the US found itself on a potential road to conflict with both Mexico and Britain in what's today the Pacific Northwest. That's the big picture. The more proximate cause is that the American settlers in the Mexican province of Texas in 1836 rebelled, declared independence, fought a short but relatively bloody war of independence and achieved their independence. And then the United States, in 1846, annexed Texas, and that set the war in motion between 1846 and 1848.



The Mexican army of the North was defeated during the Battle of Monterrey

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What happened from 1846 to 1848?

The United States and Mexico fought on a number of fronts. American troops invaded what we now think of as modern Mexico [through Texas]. Other American troops went west to California. And then, in probably the big campaign of the war, General Winfield Scott landed at Veracruz and actually went inland through the heart of Mexico, capturing Mexico City, which the Duke of Wellington called the greatest campaign in history. So the Americans invaded Mexico, or seized Mexican territory, on three fronts.

Was this a one-sided fight in favour of the Americans?

That's how it's often portrayed, in part because of the subsequent history about the wealth and strength of the two countries. But actually, it was much more equal than people often say, in the sense that Mexico had had its own revolution in the 1820s and actually had pretty sophisticated military forces, while the American army wasn't that good. It became better in the course of the war, but it was largely a volunteer force and there were a lot of state militias involved. So there was a lot of pretty bloody fighting. It was a relatively brief conflict, and the outcome appeared to be so one-sided because we see the power disparity historically between the United States and Mexico since. There's a tendency to kind of read that back, but it was a slightly closer thing than people often realize.

What were the outcomes of the war?

For the United States, the main outcome was that they acquired what's called the Mexican Cession, which was this massive amount of territory in the western part of North America. In 1848, with the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo, the United States acquired most of the territory that's now in the

> "Mexico had a sophisticated military, while the American army wasn't that good"

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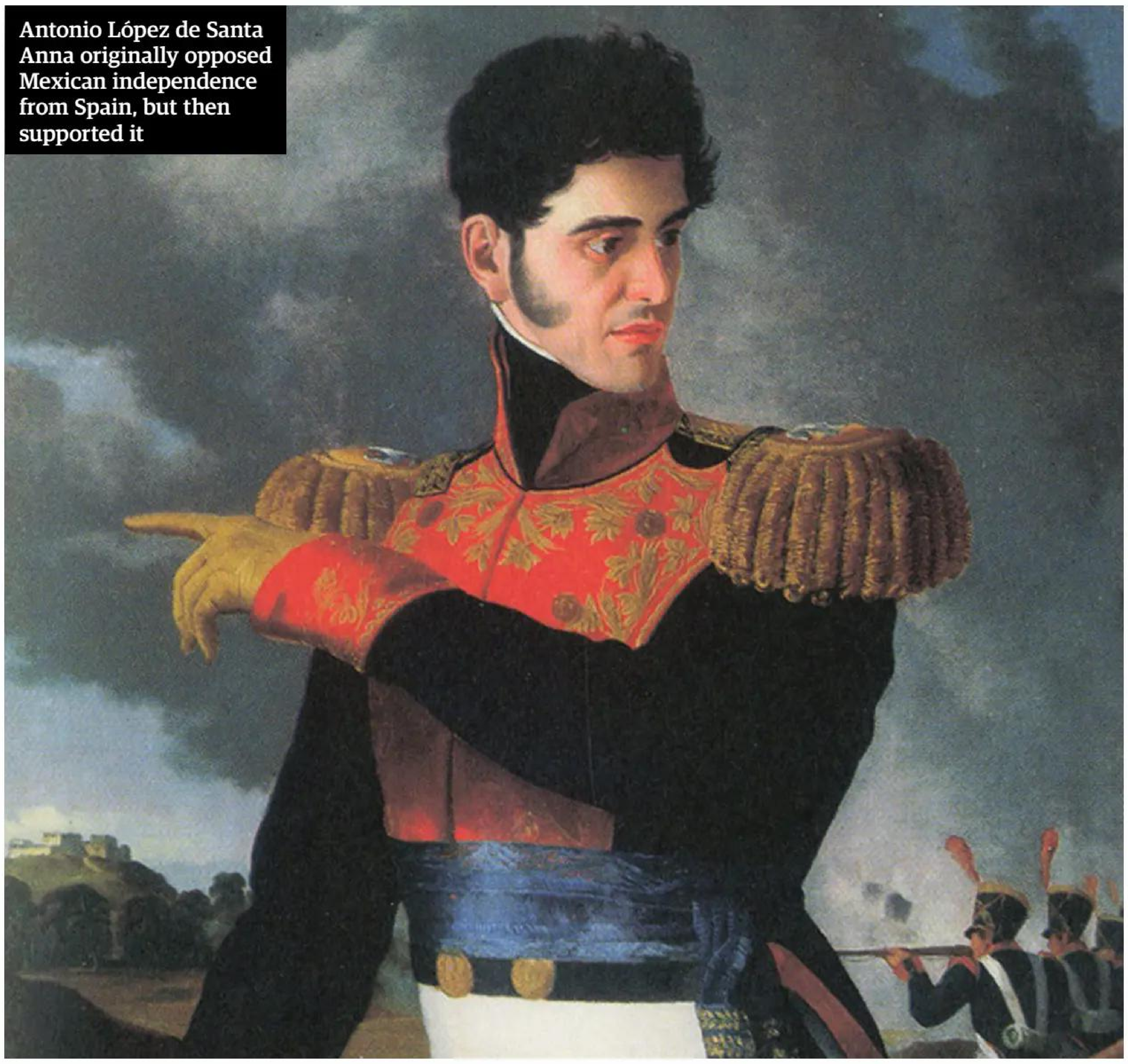
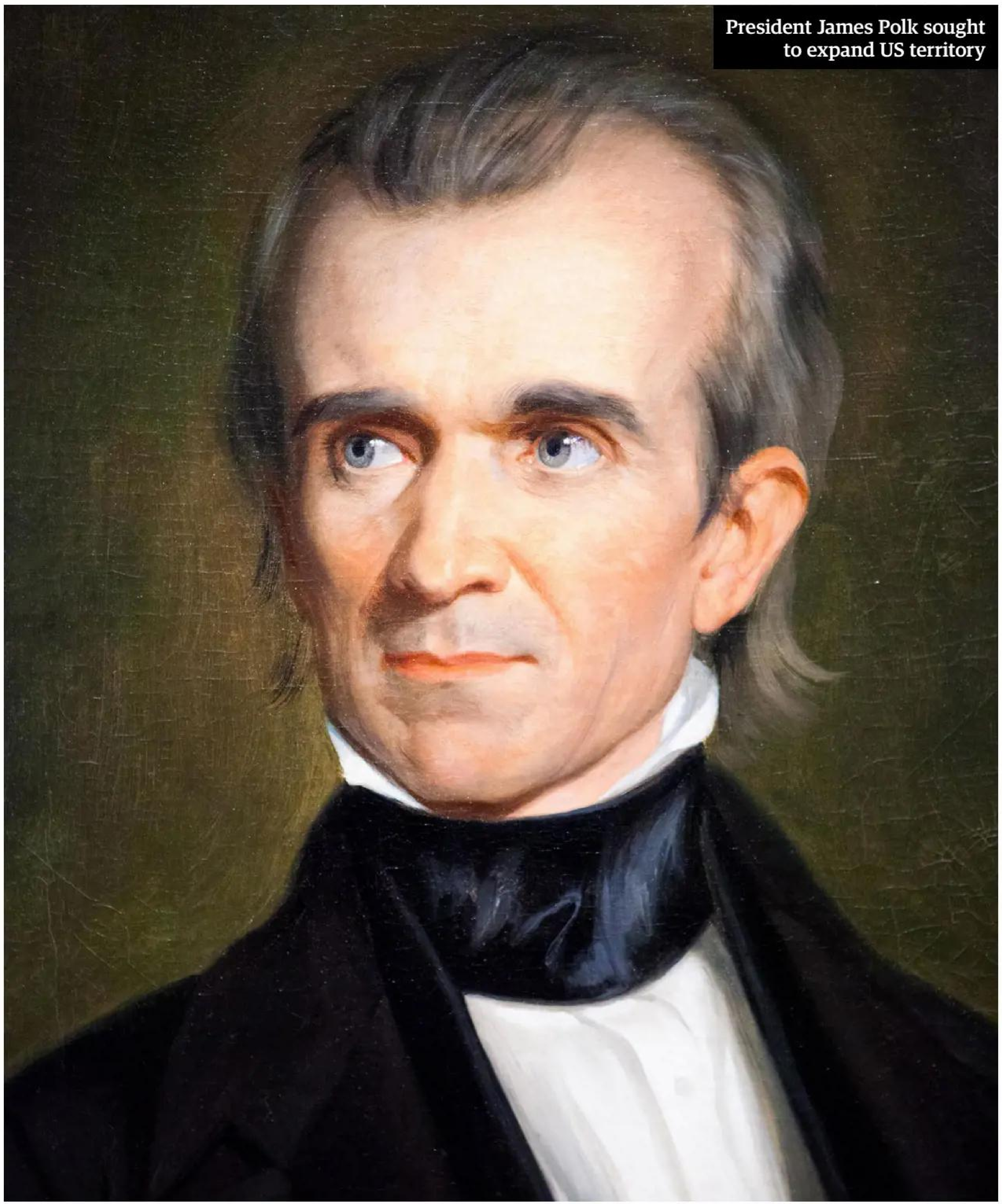


Antonio López de Santa Anna originally opposed Mexican independence from Spain, but then supported it



President James Polk sought to expand US territory

western United States. I'm talking about Texas, of course, but [also] the states of New Mexico, Arizona, California, Nevada, Utah and so forth. This [set in motion] the chain of events that led to the American Civil War, because of the dispute between the North and South about whether the newly acquired territory should be slave territory or not.

Was there a turning point where the war could have swung the other way?

In some of the early battles that were fairly close, if Mexico had won those, maybe the United States wouldn't have pursued the campaign. It would have been very interesting if the Mexicans had held on to California, because of course we know that gold was discovered there. The United States acquired California in 1848 in the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo and then almost immediately gold was discovered. The Gold Rush of 1849 was set off. So if that territory had remained Mexican, and the gold had been in Mexico instead of a newly acquired territory of the United States, that might have been an important turning point.

What would a Mexican victory have meant for the expansion of the US?

If Mexico had been victorious and blocked the expansion of United States to the south and west, there were two possible outcomes. One is that American settlers would've continued going into Mexican territory to settle, because the population was doubling every generation. The United States had an incredibly rapidly growing population, both through an actual increase and through immigration. [Or] maybe United States and American settlers would not have gone to the west but into the northwest and Canada instead.

What would victory have meant for Mexico ?

They were fighting to maintain their territorial integrity, [and] they were also concerned about the fate of their citizens. Mexico was a republic, too, and sought to protect the rights of its citizens in the territory that the United States coveted, especially in Texas, but then latterly in California and New Mexico. Mexico's claims to that territory were pretty good.

Would Mexico have abolished slavery in the American south?

It wouldn't have been able to abolish it across the American south. [But] it prohibited slavery in the province of Texas. There had been slavery in Mexico before independence, but one of the legacies of the Mexican Revolution in the 1820s was the abolition of slavery throughout Mexico. That was confirmed in Texas in the 1830s. The American settlers in Texas were bringing their slaves into their province, and that was one of the things that prompted the Texas Revolution, which eventually prompted the Mexican War. Ironically this westward expansion was going to end the debate over western expansionism. It was going to be a catalyst of the American Civil War, which of course, is about slavery.

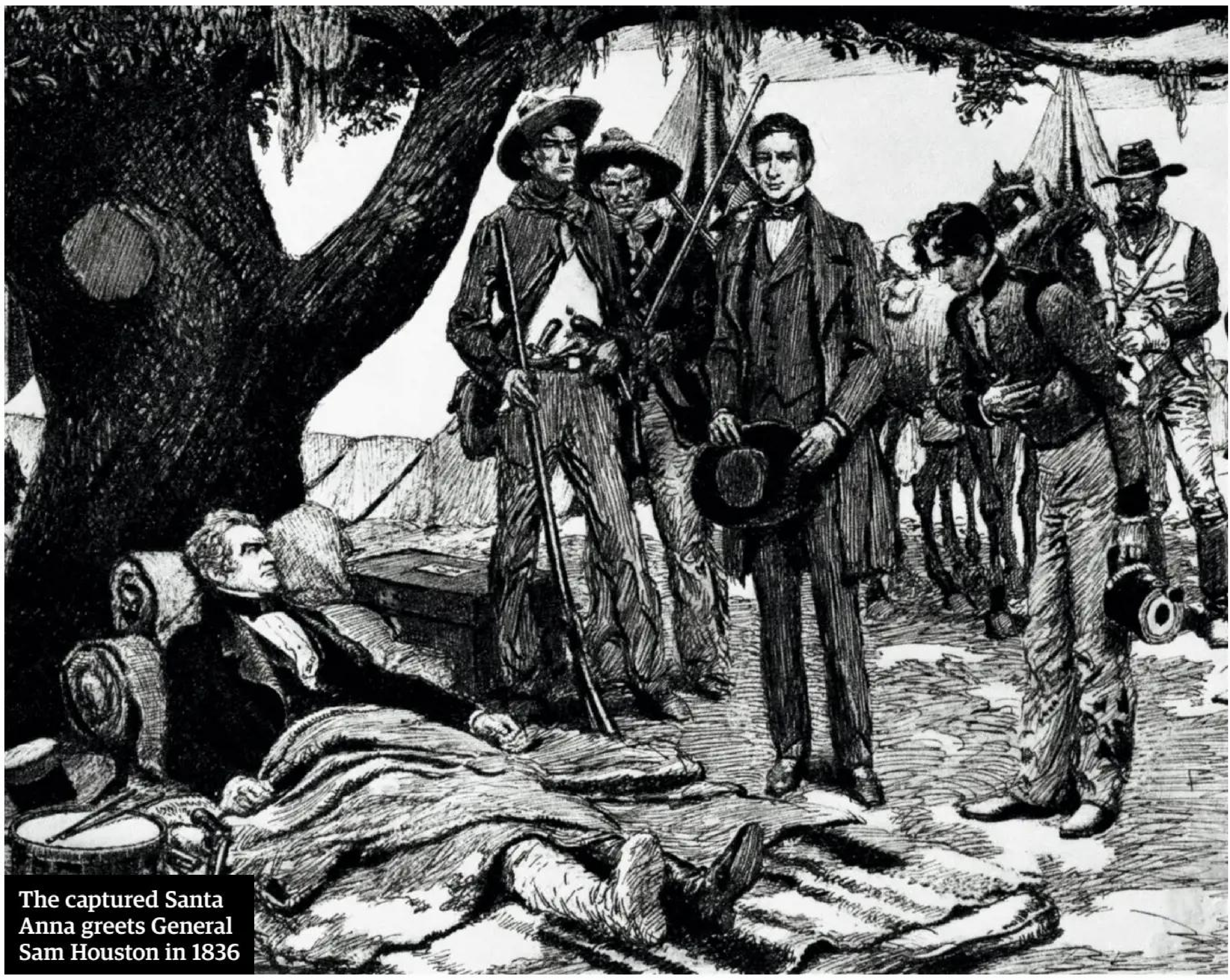
Would the American Civil War have been less likely to happen?

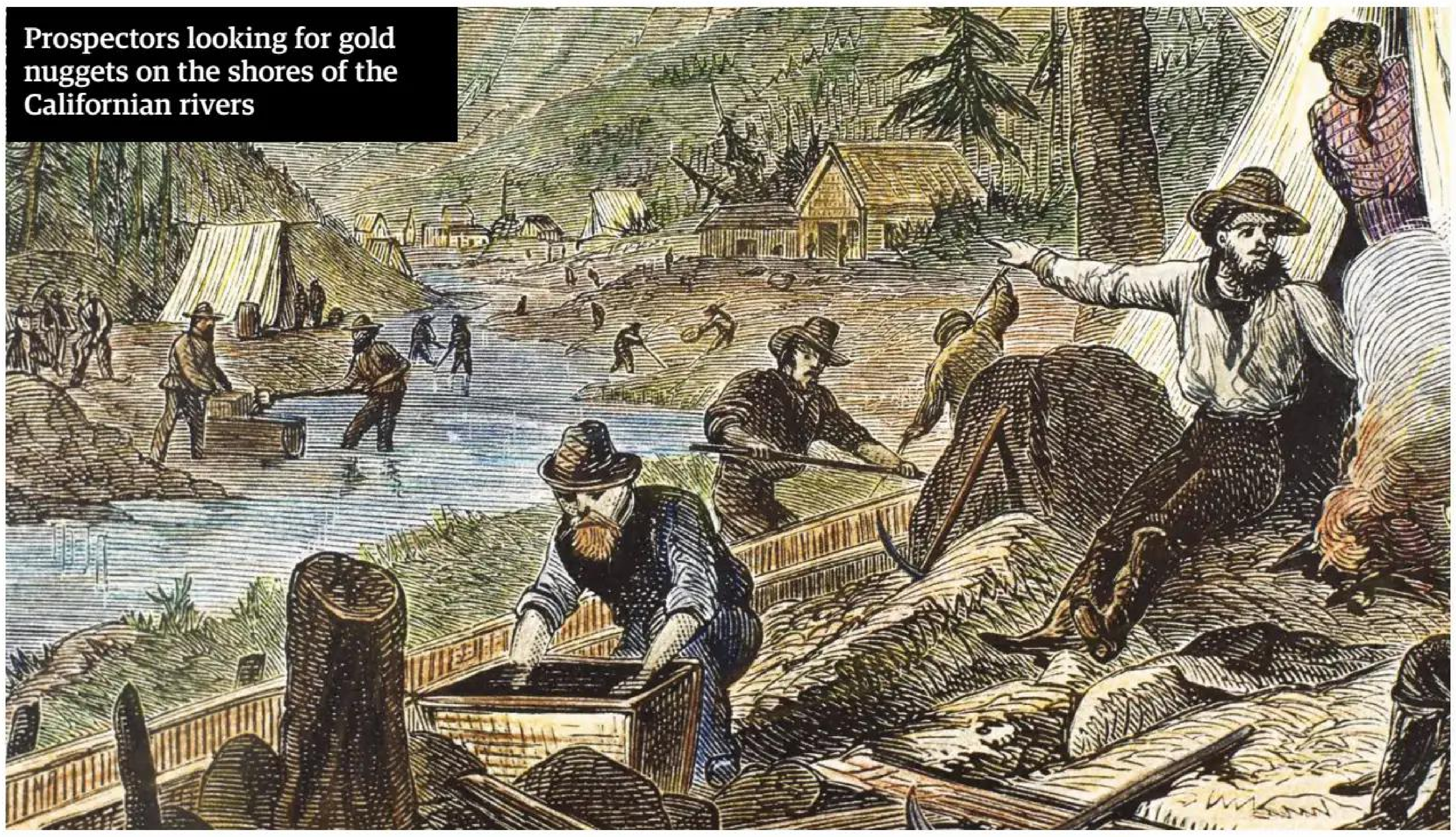
Yes, in the short term. The acquisition of all that territory and the political controversy over whether that territory would be slave or free was a direct cause of the Civil War. The other thing was, militarily, a lot of the men who served as officers in the Mexican War went on to be officers and generals in the American Civil War on both sides. And if their experience was different, maybe the country would have been less willing to go to war. If they'd suffered a humiliating defeat, maybe in 1861 both sides would have been less willing to go to war. The lesson that many Americans drew from the Mexican War, which is incorrect in my view, is that war is pretty quick and easy and you can win decisively, and then the rewards follow.

What would it have meant for the Native American population in the western US?
Between 1865 and 1895, there was a series of Indian wars in the far west that were pretty brutal and pretty one-sided in their outcome. That probably wouldn't have happened if Mexico had controlled that territory, at least probably not in the same way. There's a slight tendency where [people] assume Mexico is somehow benign when it comes to Native American relations. That's not true, but they were slightly less efficient at displacing native people from the United States. It's a sad tale of displacement and resistance, and it's certainly hard to imagine it being worse if Mexico won the Mexican War, that's for sure.

Would Mexico have had a Gold Rush?
The addition of capital as a result of the Gold Rush was kind of a steroid shot to the American economy. So if that had gone to Mexico, then Mexican development might have been different. One thing I would say is, one can imagine that if the United States had lost the Mexican War and then gold was discovered in California, maybe it would've gone to war with Mexico again in California.

What impact would there have been on US-Mexico relations?
A Mexican victory in this war might've changed the tone of US-Mexican relations which are, as we know, complicated to this very day, to some extent because of the legacy of this war. A huge proportion of the population of the western United States today are of Mexican descent and many of them feel a cultural affinity with Mexico. Many of them of course feel an affinity to the United States. Millions of them are citizens of the United States. But the war and the legacy of this war is a complicated one for both Mexico as a nation and for Mexican-Americans. If Mexico had won the war, then it's hard not to think that maybe at least some Americans would not have quite such a kind of paternalistic and patronizing view of Mexico.


The captured Santa Anna greets General Sam Houston in 1836


Prospectors looking for gold nuggets on the shores of the Californian rivers

MANIFEST DESTINY

Prior to the annexation of Texas and the outbreak of the Mexican-American War, the concept of Manifest Destiny had begun to take hold across the United States, particularly within the Democratic Party of that time. The idea, originally proposed in the 1830s, was that the US had a duty to spread its way of life across the North American continent, establishing the supremacy of its ideals over those of the Old World its founders had previously defeated. Manifest Destiny was not without opponents, however, with many believing that it was merely a self-aggrandising cover for imperialism, which they rejected as an Old-World concept. Prominent figures in later years, such as Abraham Lincoln and Ulysses S Grant, were among those who rejected Manifest Destiny, with Grant (who fought in the Mexican-American War) calling the Mexican War "one of the most unjust ever waged by a stronger against a weaker nation".

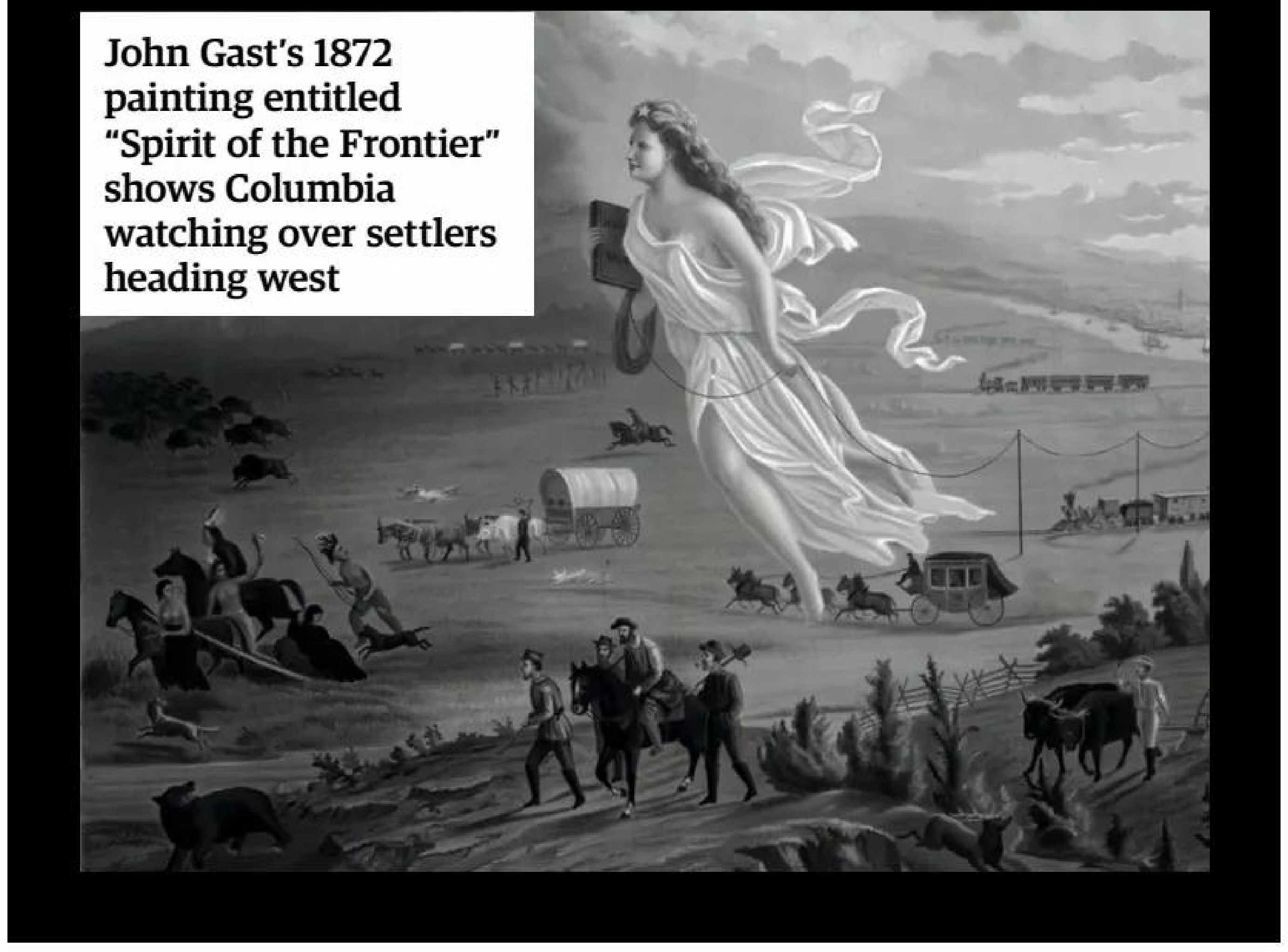
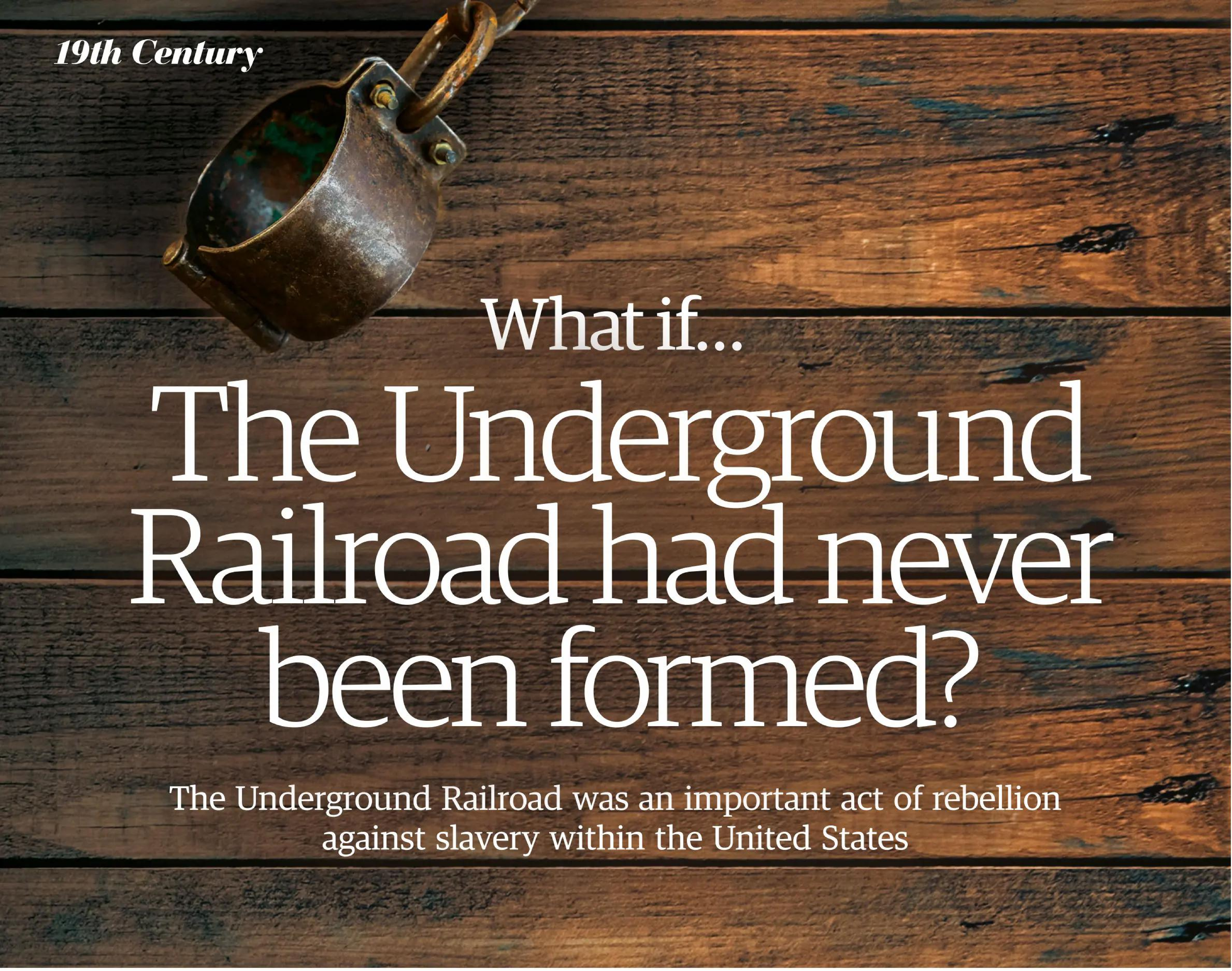

John Gast's 1872 painting entitled "Spirit of the Frontier" shows Columbia watching over settlers heading west

Image source: wiki/United States Library of Congress

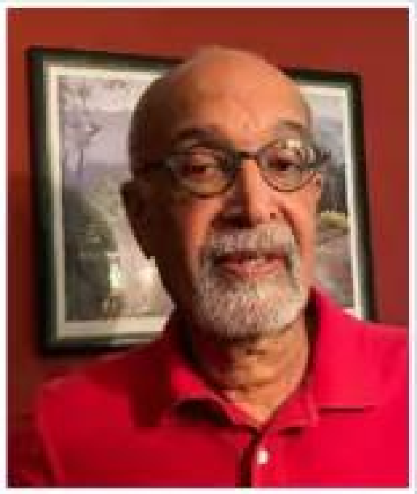


What if…

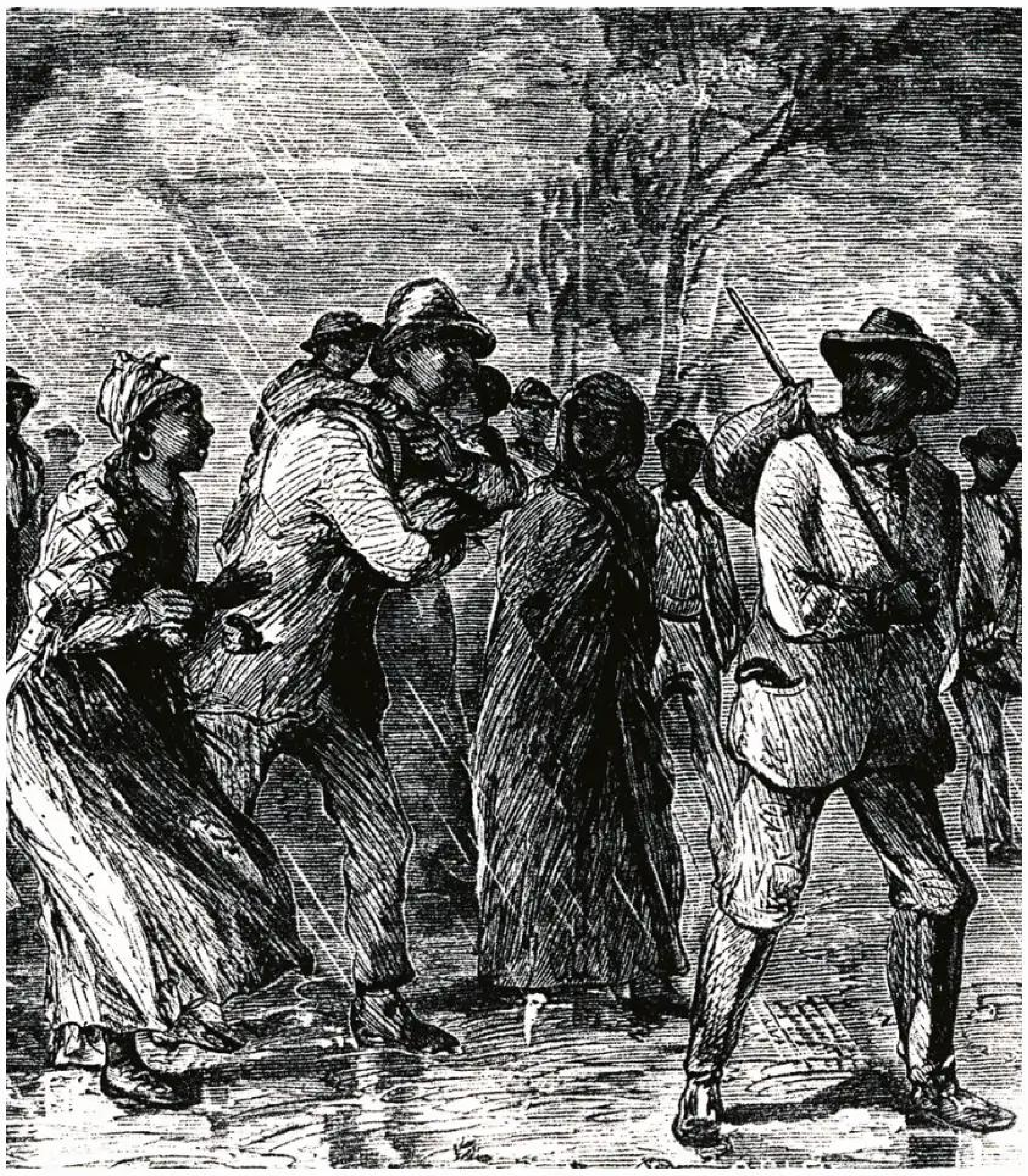
The Underground Railroad had never been formed?

The Underground Railroad was an important act of rebellion against slavery within the United States

INTERVIEW WITH… RICHARD BLACKETT



Richard Blackett is a historian focussing on the history of slavery and the abolitionist movement. He is the author of *Making Freedom: The Underground Railroad and the Politics of Slavery* (University of North Carolina Press, 2013), among numerous other works.



A depiction of slaves fleeing from Maryland to Delaware

The 'Underground Railroad' (UGRR) was the name given to routes of escape for slave in the US, fleeing the tyranny of the South. Operating during the 19th century, 'conductors' guided the escapees and hid them in buildings owned by sympathetic abolitionists. But if the Underground Railroad never formed, would it have had a wider impact on the abolitionist movement? Perhaps even on the civil rights movement of the 20th century?

What was the Underground Railroad?

The Underground Railroad was an unofficial, unorganised (largely) movement of abolitionists and of people generally who were opposed to slavery and who came to the assistance of those who were escaping from slavery. They did this by providing food, safe havens and doing their best to ensure that the enslaved people got to whichever of the various 'Free Soil' destinations they were fleeing to. It is an organisation that emerged roughly in the middle of the 1830s and continued as an integral part of the abolitionist movement until well after the Civil War.

Who are some of the key figures associated with it?

Some of the leading figures are Isaac T Hopper, active in the Philadelphia Anti-Slavery Society in the early 1840s; Levi

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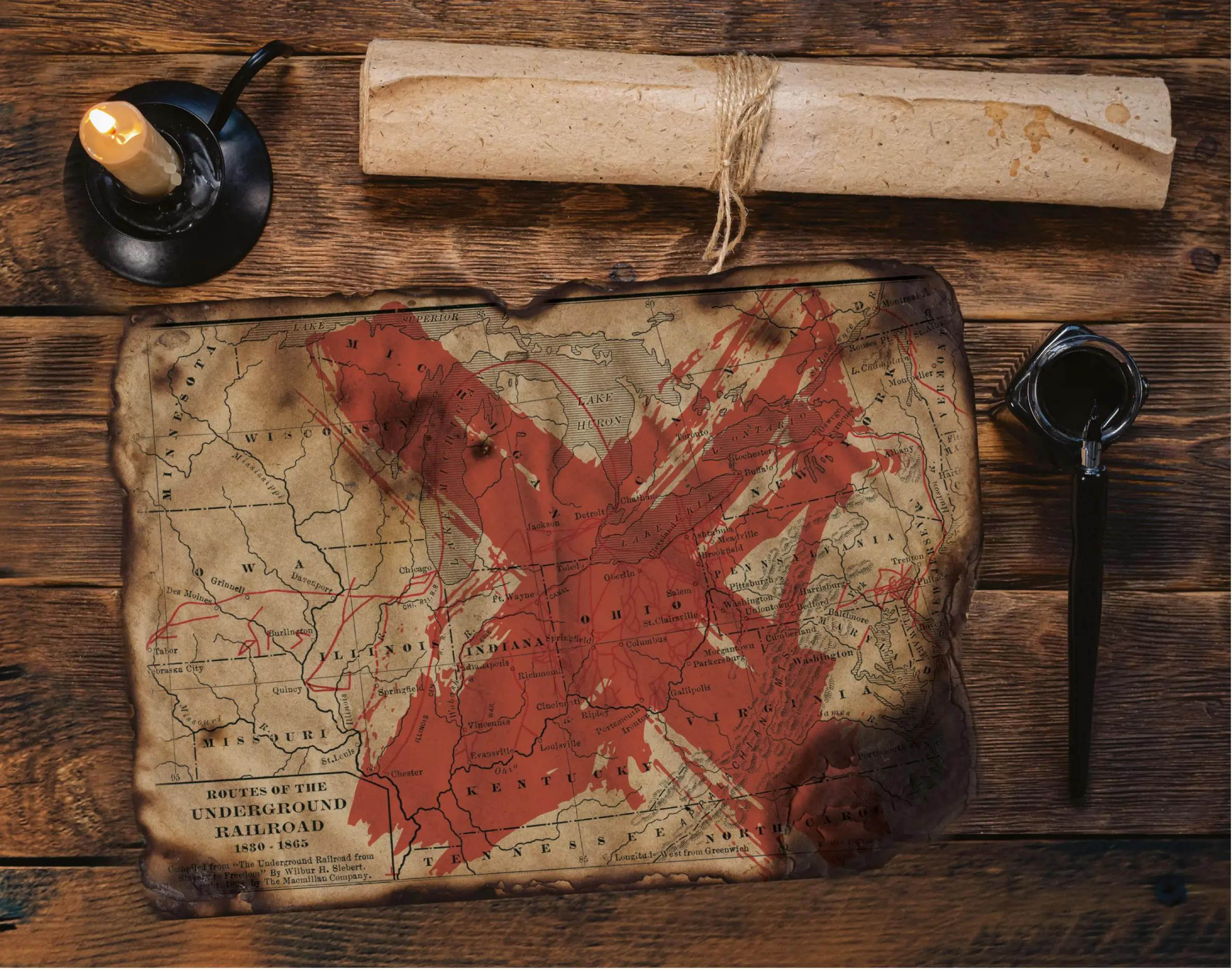

ROUTES OF THE UNDERGROUND RAILROAD
1830 - 1865
Compiled from "The Underground Railroad from Slavery to Freedom" By Wilbur H. Siebert. 1898, by The Macmillan Company.

Coffin of eastern Indiana and Cincinnati, known as the President of the UGRR; William Still, who ran operations in Philadelphia beginning in 1852 and is considered the 'father' of the UGRR; Thomas Garrett, who ran operations almost single-handedly in Wilmington, Delaware; and Sydney Howard Gay, who wore an additional hat as editor of the *National Anti-Slavery Standard*, in New York City.

Where does the name 'Underground Railroad' come from?
The origins of the term are not entirely clear. Purportedly it got its name from a slaveholder who lost track of a runaway just as he was about to retake him, and who, in desperation, turned to an onlooker and said the fugitive must have disappeared underground. The term also coincides with the national spread of the railway system.

How does it fit in with the wider abolitionist movement of the time?
The 'modern' abolitionist movement had its beginnings in the early 1830s with the formation of the American Anti-Slavery Society headquartered in New York City and with the publication of its newspaper, *The Liberator*, edited by William Lloyd Garrison in Boston. Over the years, the Society concentrated its efforts on establishing local chapters throughout the North, using paid agents, lectures and published pamphlets to spread the word. In the early years, it eschewed violence emphasising instead "moral suasion" – that is persuading slaveholders that slavery was morally indefensible. They also flooded the South and Congress with pamphlets and newspapers calling for the abolition of slavery. Before the end of the decade, they had brought into the organisation women which would, by 1839, lead to a split over the 'proper role' of women in the movement. There were also differences over the best methods to achieve their goals. Increasingly, there were calls for participation in the political system, using the government to effect change. Finally, in the years following the Passage of the Fugitive Slave Law in 1850, there was an increasing acceptance of the use of force, epitomised by John Brown's unsuccessful attack on the federal armoury at Harpers Ferry in 1859.

> "The Underground Railroad provides us with a historical example of resistance to slavery"

What do you believe is the key legacy of the Underground Railroad?
The Underground Railroad, this unofficial political organisation that attempted by its actions to undermine

The Past

Harriet Tubman

Harriet Tubman was a 'conductor' who is said to have helped some 70 enslaved persons escape to freedom. Born around 1822, Tubman was able to flee to Philadelphia in 1849, where she began assisting enslaved persons. Despite the risk to her own safety, she would consistently return to Maryland in order to rescue enslaved family members and friends. During the Civil War, Tubman worked as a spy and scout for the Union Army, as well as a nurse. Tubman campaigned consistently for greater rights for women and pursued suffrage. Towards the end of her life she also established a home for the aged.

The Abolitionist Movement

The abolitionist movement in the United States took place roughly from 1830 to 1870 and began in northern states such as New York. Largely inspired by the British abolitionist movement, those fighting for the cause distributed petitions, ran for political office and wrote and distributed anti-slavery literature. There were numerous abolitionist figures, including journalist William Garrison and Frederick Douglass, whose writings on the horror of slavery were widely read.

John Brown

During the 19th century, John Brown gained prominence as an abolitionist who was prepared to fight for his belief in anti-slavery. He worked as a conductor on the Underground Railroad and created an organisation to assist slaves fleeing to Canada. When the town of Lawrence, Kansas was brutally attacked by a pro-slavery group, Brown led a retaliatory attack on Pottawatomie Creek. In 1859 he led an attempted slavery rebellion at Harpers Ferry but was eventually forced to surrender. He was tried for murder, slave insurrection and treason and was executed.

Underground Railroad 'conductor' Harriet Tubman with friends and family

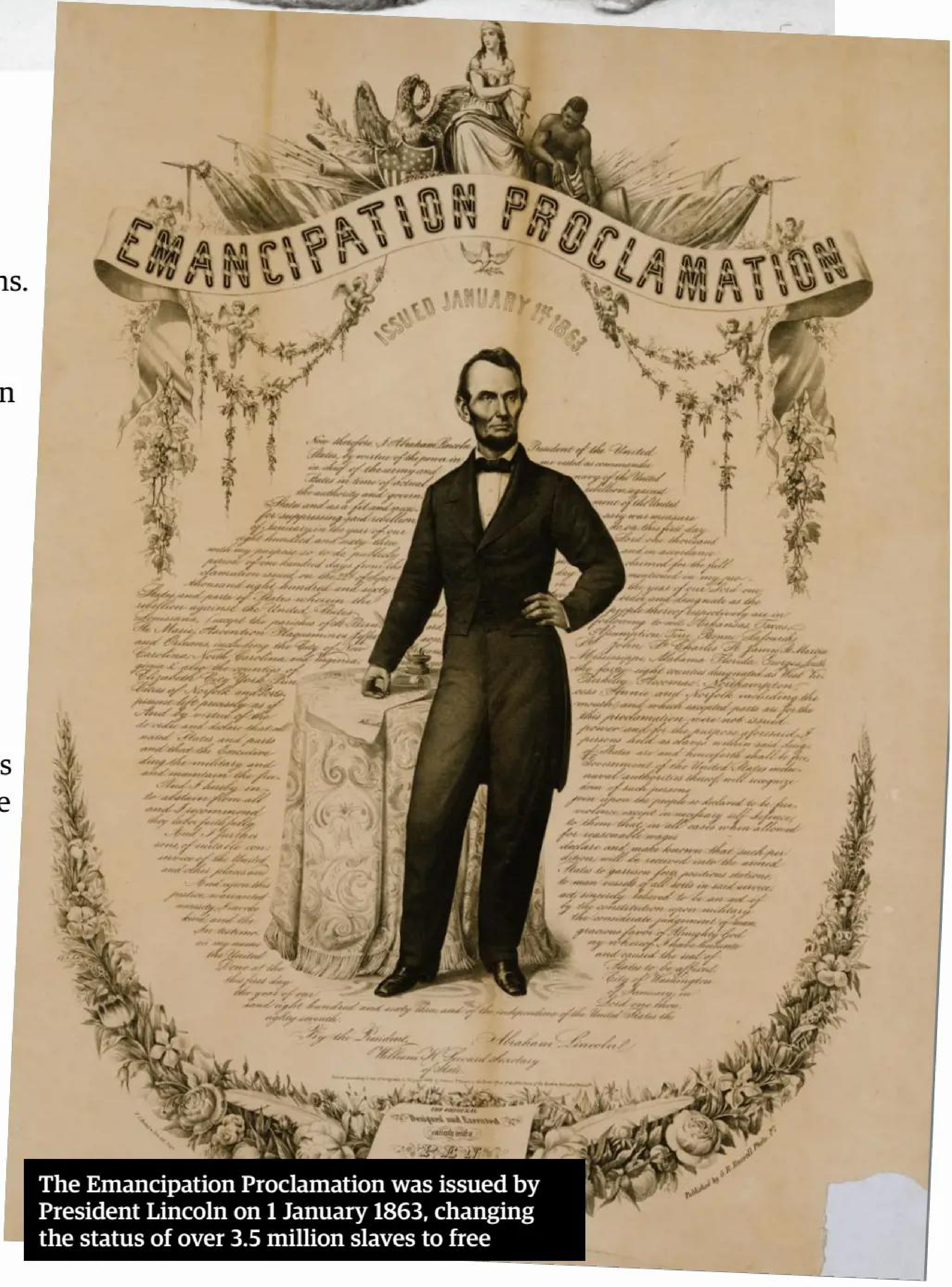
the ability of the slave system to function as effectively as it wanted to, is important because it provides us with a historical example of resistance to slavery. Its work is predicated on an understanding that it is the enslaved people who initiate the resistance by fleeing the plantations. The job of the Underground Railroad was then to assist those people to get to their point of destination. These destinations could be in Canada, or perhaps a free northern state, or any other Free Soil destination.

You can paint a map of resistance to enslavement in the United States by identifying 'Free Soil'. In this case, the enslaved mainly fled to the northern states and parts of Canada. However there was also free soil in the British territories of the northern Atlantic, for instance, in places like the Bahamas, and, after the British emancipation in 1834, Jamaica. These places and others became destinations for slaves attempting to reach freedom. It is possible to paint a kind of geographic picture that encircles the United States. But we can't understand the significance of the movement without paying very close attention to what the enslaved were doing, and why they felt compelled to escape and flee to places that were totally unknown to them.

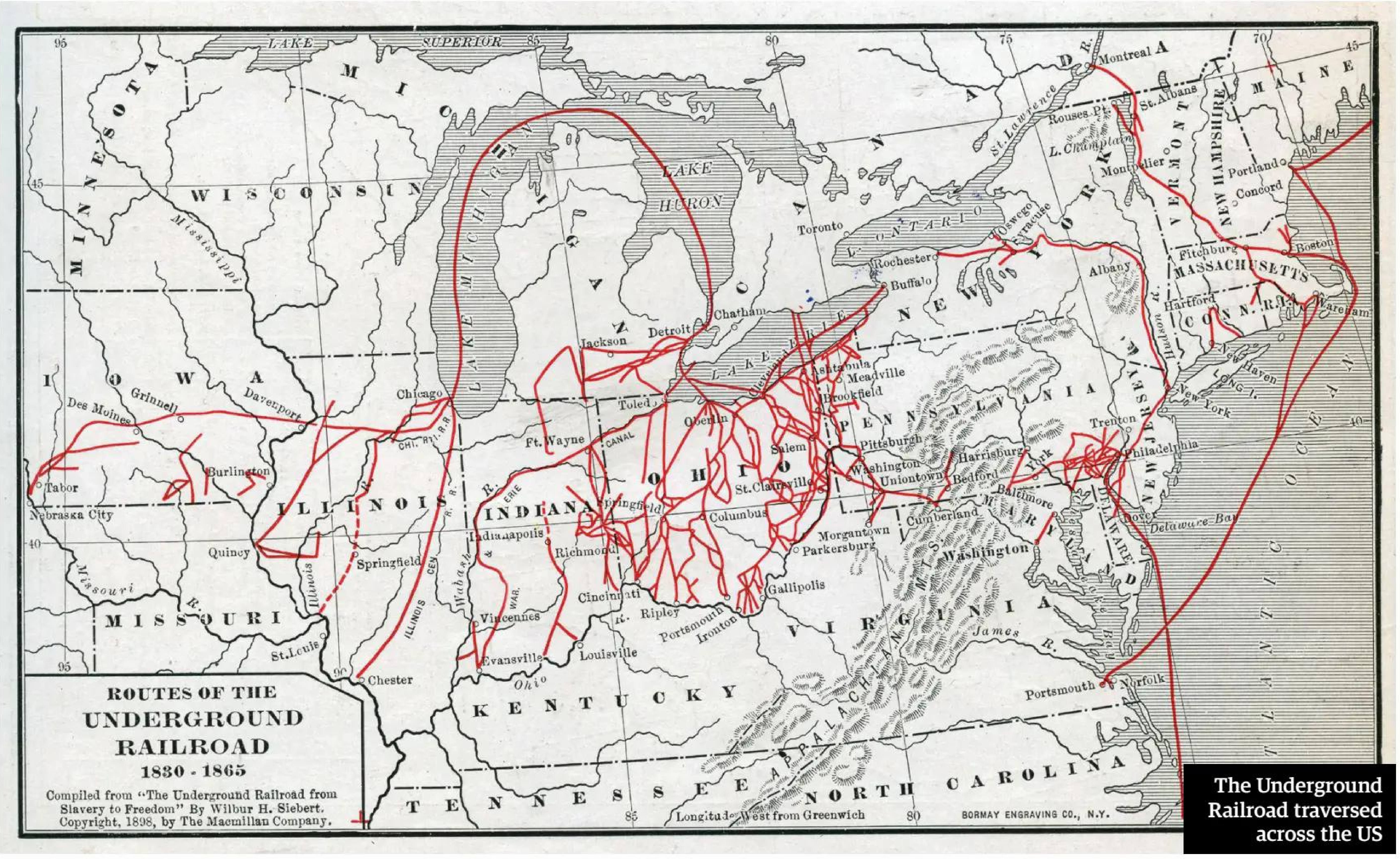
How did The Underground Railroad help contribute to the abolition of slavery on a wider scale?

Because it's one of the targets of 19th-century resistance to the system of slavery.

It provided the abolitionists, anti-slavery societies and their members with a practical opportunity to show their resistance to the system. And in doing so, they created


EMANCIPATION PROCLAMATION
ISSUED JANUARY 1st 1863

The Emancipation Proclamation was issued by President Lincoln on 1 January 1863, changing the status of over 3.5 million slaves to free



The Underground Railroad traversed across the US

> "Wherever slavery existed, enslaved people would try to run away from it and escape"

problems for southern slaveholders as well as for the South, generally, by syphoning off what they saw as their principal means of existence. In short, they were taking away the much-needed labour from the plantation system. Now, it's important to state that this is not a significant number of people. This is not a mass exodus. But what it is is a consistent flow. The result is an assault on a system that prided itself on maintaining control over its labour force.

If the Underground Railroad hadn't ever formed, do you think it's possible there would have been an impact on the wider abolitionist movement?
That's a tough question to answer. It's a hard one for the simple reason that, by the late 1830s and 1840s, it's such an integral part of the anti-slavery movement in the United States, that it's very difficult to envisage the movement growing and succeeding without the kind of resistance that the Underground Railroad provided.

If you take a look at contemporary anti-slavery literature, it often appears front and centre. For example, the highest-selling novel written in the 19th century, which is Harriet Beecher Stowe's *Uncle Tom's Cabin*, starts with a slave woman with her infant in her arms, fleeing across the frozen Ohio River. Now that was not some fictional invention, that was based on an actual event that really happened. So these escapes by enslaved persons are critical to our understanding of the abolitionist movement. Because without it, people are trying to simply win popular support for the abolition of slavery without the voice of the slaves themselves. Slaves, by their physical action of escaping, provide their voice and therefore meaning to the abolitionist movement. It's hard to say but I doubt it would have succeeded to the extent it did.

Do you think it is fair to say that if the Underground Railroad had never existed, there would have always been similar escape groups, whether they were organised or not?
Yes, I think these escape routes will have happened whether or not people came up with the idea of the Underground Railroad. Wherever slavery existed, enslaved people would try to run away from it and escape. Not just in the United States but in the British colonies in the Caribbean and Brazil. Wherever slavery existed, the enslaved people ran away. So that fact in itself is testimony to the efforts of the enslaved to always try and find freedom, to put physical distance between themselves and their enslavement.

If the Underground Railroad hadn't ever formed, what do you feel that the impact would be for America today?
Let me put it this way. The Underground Railroad, and the broader abolitionist movement under which it operated, is the first integrated movement resisting American racial oppression. It's the kind of example that others would later look to when we begin to talk about something like the 20th-century civil rights movement. Here is a movement in the 19th century that brought together a group of people across racial lines and across gender lines, in the name of resistance. This alone makes it very significant in the broader scope of the struggle of Americans to live up to their principles of all men being free and equal.

The Underground Railroad is a vital part of that effort of Americans to live up to the principle of achieving equality.

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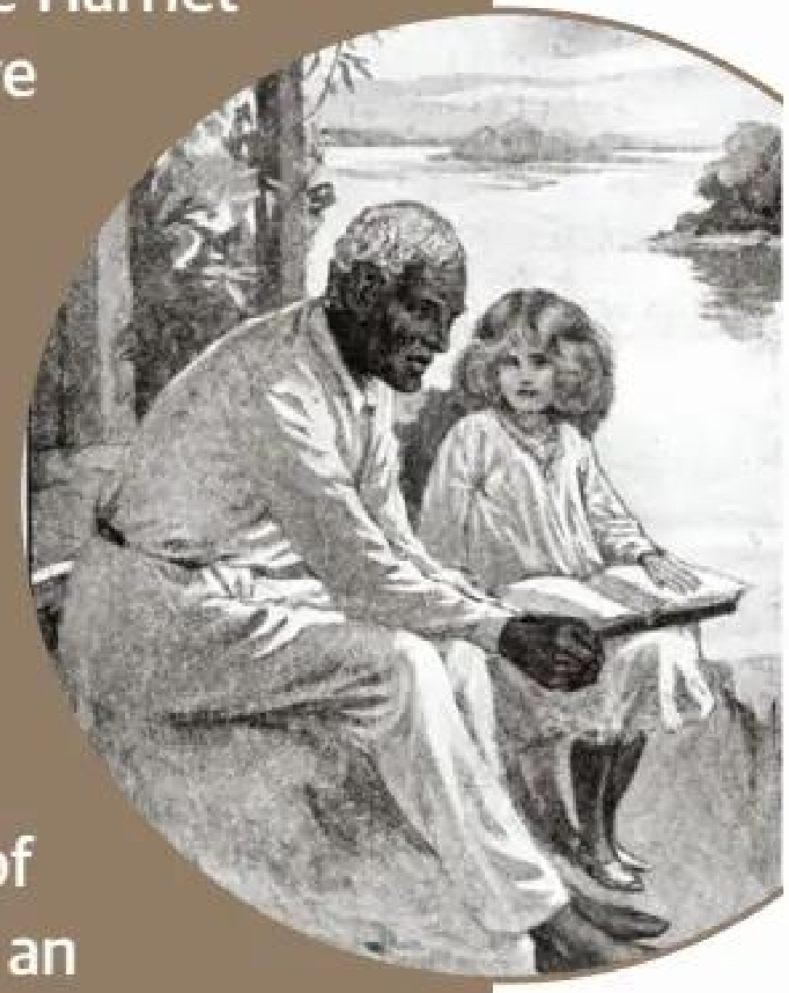
The Possibility

Uncle Tom's Cabin



Selling 300,000 in its first year in the US, and 1.5 million copies in Britain in one year, according to the Harriet Beecher Stowe Center, *Uncle Tom's Cabin* was one of the 19th century's most popular books. Stowe originally intended to write a handful of instalments for an anti-slavery newspaper, before the story grew. Stowe collected first-hand accounts of slavery. The book remains controversial but without the Underground Railroad, this impactful but divisive work of American literature would never have been written.

The End of Slavery

In 1863, Abraham Lincoln issued the Emancipation Proclamation, though it was limited only to states which had seceded. Two years later, the 13th amendment was added to the United States constitution and ensured that slavery was abolished. However, the bill did not have an easy passage through Congress, with the House not originally passing the bill. Lincoln was able to ensure that the bill would make it through in January of 1865. Could the Underground Railroad never existing have affected the eventual abolition of slavery?

The Civil Rights Movement

During the 1950s and 1960s, the struggle for racial equality entered a new phase. Fighting against outdated segregation laws, the movement was ignited by Rosa Parks' refusal to give up her seat for a white passenger. Dr Martin Luther King became one of the movement's leaders and a coordinated boycott soon saw segregated busing being ruled unconstitutional by the Supreme Court. In 1954 segregation was deemed unconstitutional and in 1957, Eisenhower signed the Civil Rights Act. As Richard Blackett suggests, the Underground Railroad was an inspirational act of resistance, would a world without it impact these later important movements?

What if...
The slave states had won?

Would the Union and Confederacy have unified or remained as separate nations?

INTERVIEW WITH... PROFESSOR AARON SHEEHAN-DEAN

Aaron Sheehan-Dean is the Fred C. Frey Professor of Southern Studies at Louisiana State University. He is the author of titles such as *Why Confederates Fought: Family and Nation in Civil War Virginia* and the *Concise Historical Atlas of the U.S. Civil War*, and also the editor of several books. He teaches a number of courses on 19th-century US history, including the Civil War and Reconstruction and also Southern History.

What would have happened if the slave states had won?
There were two major accomplishments of the civil war, and they are the preservation of the Union and emancipation. If the Union hadn't stayed together – that is, if the United States had broken into two – then it's likely that other regions of the US would have taken advantage of Confederate secession or would have seceeded themselves, either from the then-existing North or the South. So you could certainly see an independent Midwest, and the area from California through to Washington state probably could have made itself its own place. Even within the Confederacy, there were certainly sections like East Tennessee that were vigorously Unionist during the war, and which might have pulled away. This was one of the major arguments against secession to begin with – where did it stop? So I expect that it would have continued; that process of creating smaller autonomous republics within the space that is today the continental United States.

So the United States would have been a series of smaller countries rather than one whole one?
Yes – the United States is bigger than continental Europe, so there's no reason why it couldn't be 45 independent republics. We tend to look at the shape of the US and regard it as somehow inevitable that it would go from the Atlantic to the Pacific, but there's no reason that it's inevitable.

Would slavery still have been abolished?
The question of emancipation has broader global implications, including that slavery would not have ended in 1863. There's no reason to think that if the Confederate states had won the war – not necessarily conquering the North, but at least fighting to a draw – they would have voluntarily given up slavery. Certainly not any time in the rest of the 19th century. World opinion could have turned to the point that they would voluntarily relinquish slavery in the 20th century, but even that is hard to imagine playing out. That then has implications for Brazil and other nations holding power in the Western hemisphere, some of which emancipated their slaves after the US civil war, because they had seen what happened in the US and wanted to avoid that kind of bloody confrontation. So instead, you've got a very different future where slave labour has a new lease of life. We're talking about a 20th century in which slavery is a vital part of the labour scheme and the social and political structures of large countries in the Western hemisphere.

If the US had permanently divided into North and South, could either have thrived?
In global terms, from the perspective of Britain and France, it would have been a very good thing to divide the US in half. Both those empires would have breathed a sigh of relief, because by 1860 the entire US already had the largest economy in the world, but separately the North and South didn't. The South would have needed to buy a huge amount of manufactured goods from the North, so there might have been some kind of agreement between the two, although the unpleasant war would have left the South turning towards European manufacturers, pursuing trade agreements with European nations, sooner than it would have turned to the North. In 1860, while the South was rich and productive, it was apparent that the development path the North was on – towards more intensive industrial and urban development – was the recipe for future success. By 1890 or 1900 it would have been apparent that basing your economy around the production of staple crops, like the South had done with cotton, rice, sugar and tobacco, was not a good long term strategy, so the North would've been in a much better position.

Would the US still have entered World War I?
If the South had started making trade agreements with Britain, it would have soured relations between the North and the UK, and that might well have reduced the likelihood of them entering World War I. Whether a South that's loosely tied to Europe would have felt compelled to enter is hard to say;

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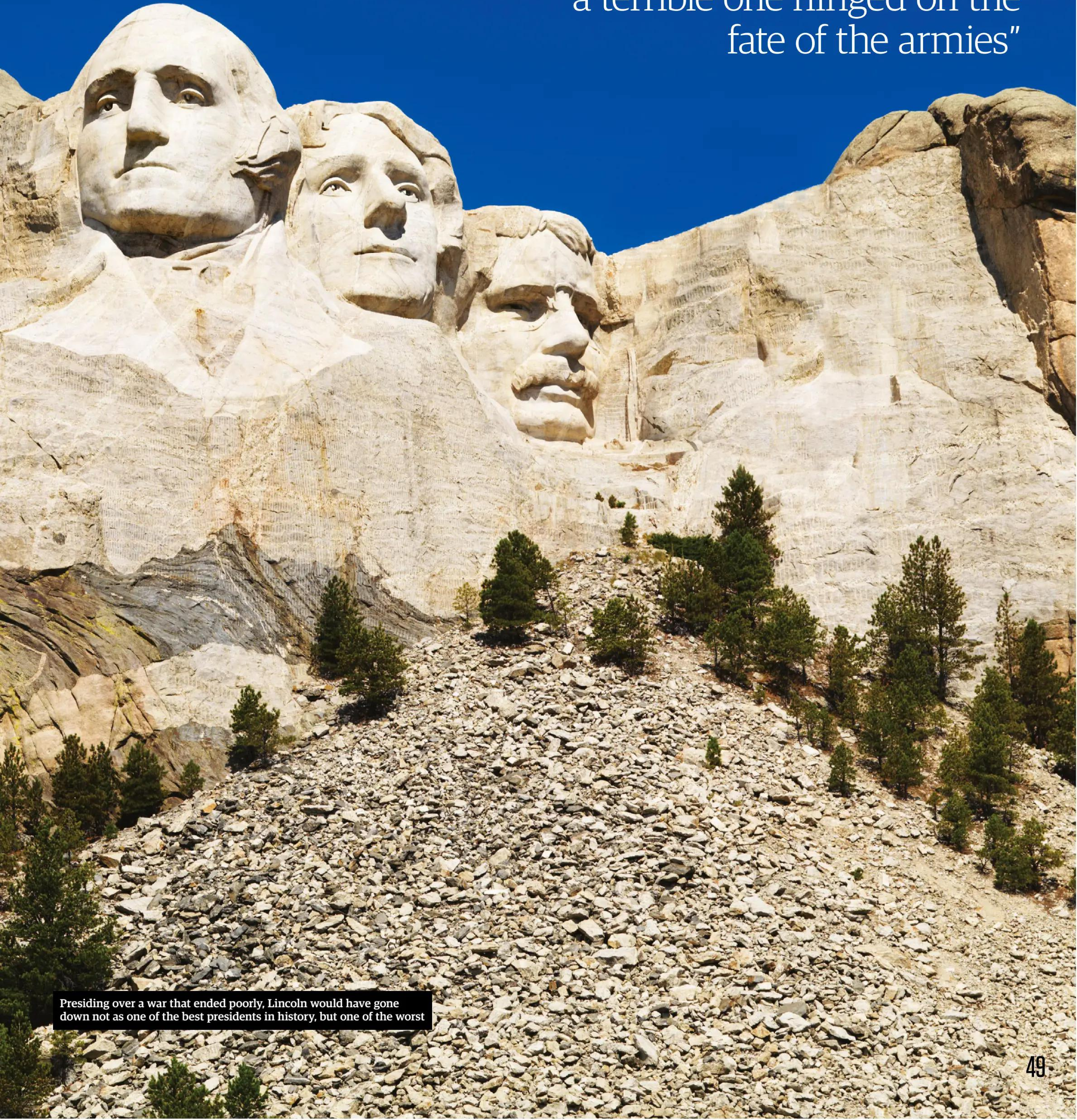
> "Lincoln's fortunes are tied to the war, the difference between a great president and a terrible one hinged on the fate of the armies"



Presiding over a war that ended poorly, Lincoln would have gone down not as one of the best presidents in history, but one of the worst they wouldn't have been nearly as much help unless they dramatically expanded their industrial base, and that was a big part of why the US involvement in World War I was so valuable – it was the combined economic power of the whole US and its industrial capacity. So that would have played out on the world stage very differently by the early 20th century.

How would the North losing have affected Britain?

It was pretty apparent that the leadership of the British government wanted to mediate for peace, although I don't think that was entirely altruistic. I mean, they came very close to recognising the Confederacy at it was in September 1862, and it was only really the Battle of Antietam that stopped them from doing that. They were interested in re-establishing trade negotiations; they wanted cotton to begin flowing again by that point because the Confederate embargo on cotton had begun to really pinch in Britain. I think they also imagined that a weakened North was a better proposition for them in the long run. The Union victory is credited with helping pass the various reform acts in Britain during the 1860s as well as the liberalisation of voting rules. Without that global victory for democracy as they saw it, those things might have never happened, or would have happened much later.

What were the turning points of the war?

N.S.A.
CONFEDERATE STATES OF THE SOUTH

Border patrols between the Northern and Confederate states might not be too dissimilar to those between the US and Mexico today

The twin victories of Gettysburg and Vicksburg were essential to forestalling the Northern peace movement, which had gained strength in early 1863. The Democrats had regained seats in the Congress in the fall of 1862 and Lincoln was facing a very unhappy electorate in 1863, so those victories were essential. Another turning point was the fall of 1864, when Lincoln anticipated he wouldn't be re-elected and that [General George Brinton] McClellan, who had returned as the Democratic presidential candidate, would be elected in his stead on a platform of negotiating an end to the war, and probably abandoning the emancipation as a Northern war policy. Lincoln believed that he was going to lose until as late as the end of August 1864, and it was only the victories of General Sherman at the Battle of Atlanta [July 1864] and Admiral Farragut at the Battle of Mobile Bay [August 1964] that saved the Union. It also saved the Republican party's electoral votes, so Lincoln was soundly re-elected and the war ended with him at the helm. Certainly if he'd not been re-elected that would have produced a very different outcome.

> "The Union victory is credited with helping pass the various reform acts in Britain during the 1860s"

How would it have gone without Lincoln in charge?

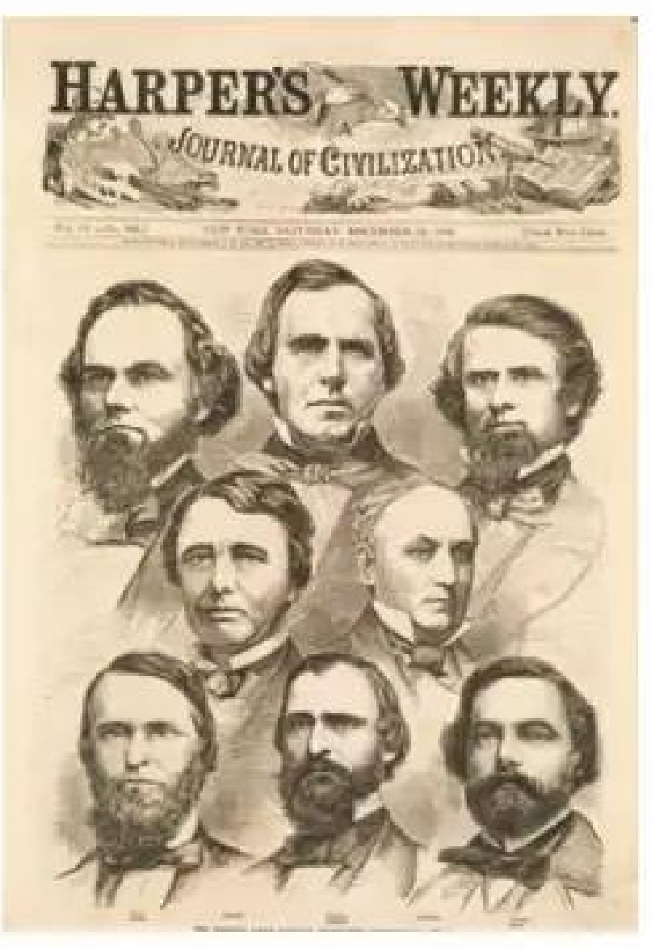
McClellan was not a sympathetic character in the pantheon of civil war generals, but he was in a parked position because radicals in the Democratic party had nominated him on a platform that called to start negotiating for peace. Even though he did his best to disavow that aspect of his platform, there would have been a lot of pressure within the party as soon as he was inaugurated in March 1865 to negotiate for peace. Without Lincoln's military victories, the war still wouldn't have been over: [General Ulysses S.] Grant would have still been fighting against [General Robert E.] Lee outside Petersburg, and it may well have been that McClellan came into office and immediately suspended fighting, and started negotiating for peace. It would have been hard for him to do that, though, given the sacrifices soldiers had made. The little support he had was among soldiers who felt

How would it be different?

Real timeline

1861

The South secedes
Numerous Southern states, including Florida, Alabama and Georgia, secede from the Union, setting in motion a chain of events that would eventually culminate in the American Civil War.
January 1861



Bombardment of Fort Sumter
The Confederacy opens fire on the Union's garrison of Fort Sumter in Charleston, South Carolina, often known as the 'shot heard around the world'.
12 April 1861

Civil War
Battles break out across North America, including the bloodiest day in US military history – the Battle of Antietam in September 1862 – which leaves over 22,000 people either dead, wounded or missing.
June 1861 – December 1862

Emancipation
President Lincoln issues the Emancipation Proclamation, making the abolition of slavery in the Confederate states the ultimate goal of the civil war.
1 January 1863

The Battle of Gettysburg
General Gordon Meade ends Confederate General Robert E. Lee's invasion of the North with victory in Gettysburg, Pennsylvania.
1 July 1863

The Battle of Vicksburg
Vicksburg, the last Confederate stronghold on the Mississippi River, surrenders to the Union. The Confederacy is now split in two and faces defeat in the war.
4 July 1863

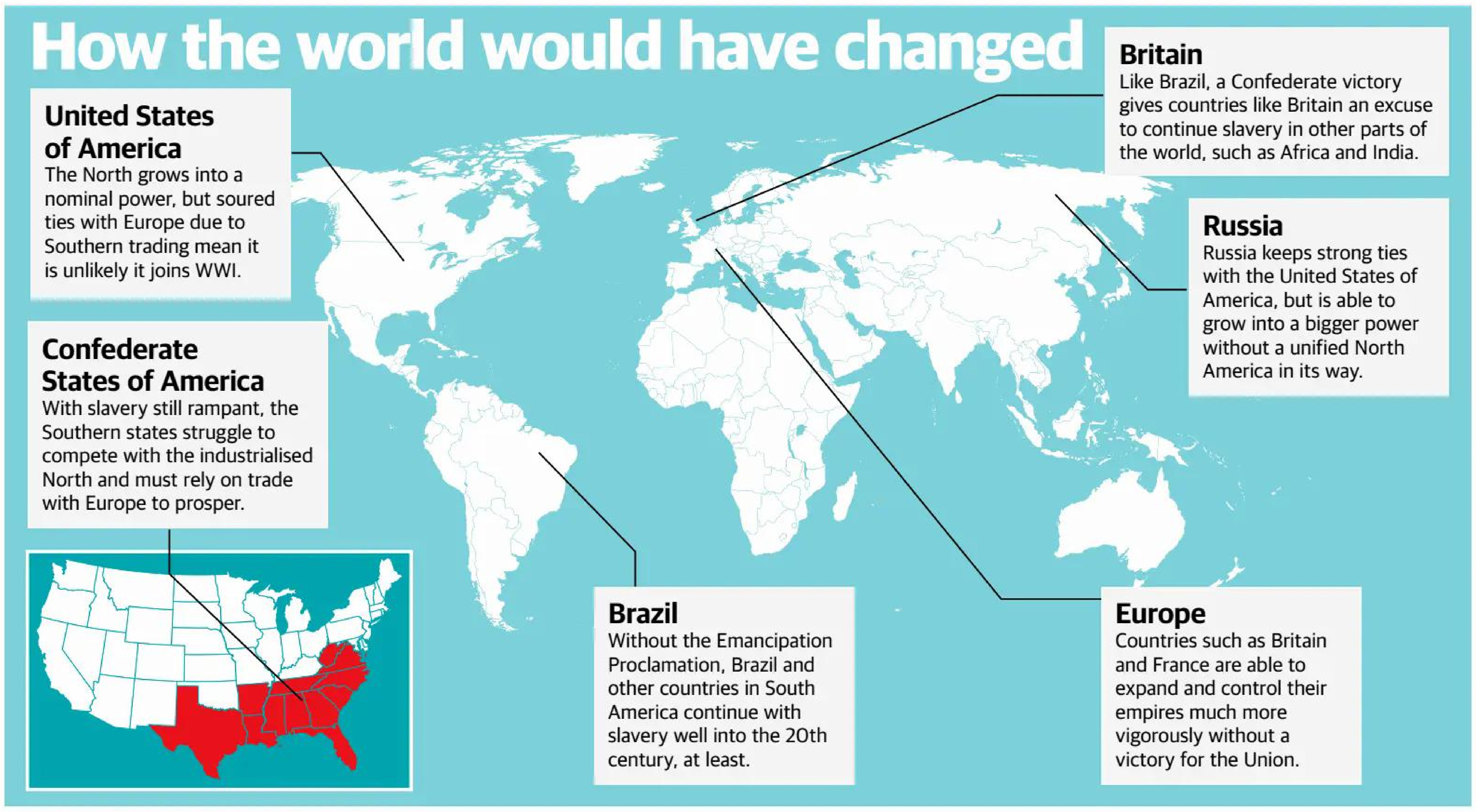
Real timeline

Alternate timeline

he was their true commander, but had he negotiated for peace then it might have said to them that their sacrifices had been in vain. It's very likely that he would have stopped emancipation, and even if slavery had ended he would have presided over a much faster reconstruction, which probably wouldn't have involved the enfranchisement of black men.

So does this mean Lincoln would not have been assassinated?
Given how much venom John Wilkes Booth had for Lincoln, he would have been happier to see him disgraced and essentially abandoned by the Northern electorate - there's no point killing him any more. So Lincoln then goes down not as one of the best presidents, but as one of the worst, having presided over a civil war that ends poorly, if at all. Lincoln's fortunes are infinitely tied to the fate of the war, and the difference between being a great president and a terrible one really hinged on the fate of the armies.

How the world would have changed



United States of America
The North grows into a nominal power, but soured ties with Europe due to Southern trading mean it is unlikely it joins WWI.

Confederate States of America
With slavery still rampant, the Southern states struggle to compete with the industrialised North and must rely on trade with Europe to prosper.

Britain
Like Brazil, a Confederate victory gives countries like Britain an excuse to continue slavery in other parts of the world, such as Africa and India.

Russia
Russia keeps strong ties with the United States of America, but is able to grow into a bigger power without a unified North America in its way.

Brazil
Without the Emancipation Proclamation, Brazil and other countries in South America continue with slavery well into the 20th century, at least.

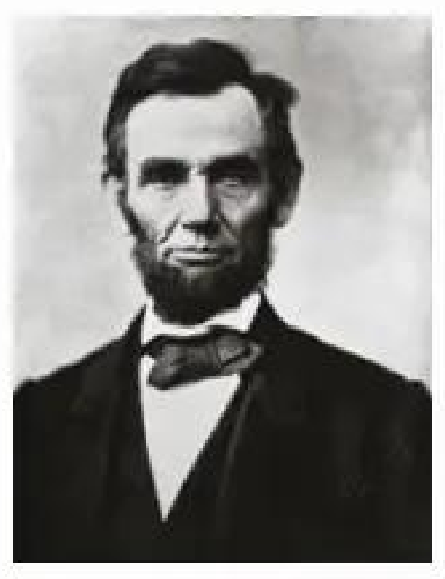
Europe
Countries such as Britain and France are able to expand and control their empires much more vigorously without a victory for the Union.

Without a unified United States, would other nations like Russia have grown more in the 20th century?
Russia is an interesting example because they had emancipated their serfs in 1861, and so there was some degree of friendship [between Russia and the North]. Certainly Russia was a vigorous supporter of the North; they never even contemplated supporting the Confederacy in this fight. Lincoln saw a friendly rivalry between the Russian and American empires, and he talked famously about how the Russian empire in the East and the American empire in the West would be forces for good and spread over the globe. But it would have been a substantially weakened North America and so it's likely that you would have seen other empires, both the British and French but also the Russian, growing stronger without that kind of counter-balancing force of the US.

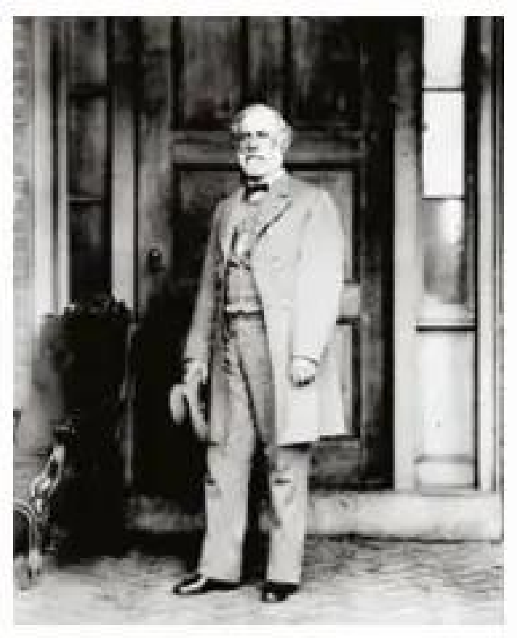
What would it be like in the modern day?
It depends on the future of slavery in the South. Enslaved people had been pushing against the system of slavery from the very beginning in North America, when the Spanish empire was there, but it depends on the degree of success. A successful Confederacy would've no doubt ramped up slave patrols and the federal protection of slaves. The question is whether that encourages the British Empire to pursue [slave] labour in India and in other parts of its empire more vigorously, as it has essentially received a sanction of success. That portends to a very different globe, as opposed to one that gradually liberalises its treatment of workers and improves working conditions, which certainly happened over the second half of the 19th century in the West and then much later in the East. Instead, the trajectory would have gone in the other direction. I suspect it would have been much worse if the Confederacy had been successful and then stood behind [slave] labour as a viable strategy for decades after that, or who knows how long.

Offensive
A massive coordinated campaign of all the Union Armies begins, once and for all, to defeat the Confederacy, starting with Lee's Army of Northern Virginia.
4 May 1864

Lincoln re-elected
Abraham Lincoln is re-elected as president, defeating Democrat George McClellan and allowing him to continue fighting for victory, rather than peace.
8 November 1864



Lee surrenders
General Robert. E Lee surrenders the Confederate Army to General Ulysses S. Grant in Virginia. The remaining Confederate forces surrender the following month and the war finally ends.
9 April 1865



Lincoln assassinated
President Lincoln is shot by John Wilkes Booth and dies the next morning. Thanks to Lincoln's resolve, slavery is abolished in December 1865.
14 April 1865

World War I
The entry of the powerful US into World War I greatly helps bring the war to a swift conclusion and allows the Allies to emerge victorious on 11 November 1918.
April 1917

McClellan elected
Democrat George McClellan is elected president of the Union, defeating disgraced former president Lincoln after Confederate victories at Gettysburg and Vicksburg.
8 November 1864

Peace
The North seeks peace with the South and eventually ends the fighting. The Union and Confederacy remain two separate nations, with slavery still prevalent in the South.
May 1865

Relations
By 1900, the South has struck strong trading relations with Europe, while a prosperous North remains embittered to European countries like Britain but allies with Russia in the East.
1900

World War I
Without a unified US it is unlikely either the North or South would enter The Great War, leaving the Allies without the crucial aid they needed to win the war in 1918.
April 1917

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What if…
Abraham Lincoln hadn't been assassinated?

How would the history of the United States have changed if President Lincoln survived?

INTERVIEW WITH…
PROFESSOR
STEPHEN L CARTER

Stephen L Carter is a professor of law, a newspaper columnist and a best-selling novelist. He currently teaches law at Stanford University's Yale School of Law. His fifth novel, *The Impeachment Of Abraham Lincoln*, follows an alternative reality where the iconic political figure must defend his seat of office and his legacy against a seemingly inescapable political trap.

What if Abraham Lincoln hadn't been assassinated?
It's a question that many historians – and many writers – have pondered over since that fateful day in 1866. In short, had Lincoln survived his assassination (or if someone else had been shot in his place, such as the original intended target, Andrew Johnson) history would have certainly deviated. However, Lincoln's actions before and during the Civil War would have ultimately sealed his position as one of the most tenacious yet pragmatic politicians to have ever held office in the United States.

Had Lincoln lived, would there have been further attempts on his life?
From the records we have, it appears that most of the former leaders of the Confederacy, including many of the members of the planter aristocracy, were appalled at Lincoln's assassination. This was not, as some Southern apologists used to argue, because of some sense of honour, still less from a moral squeamishness. The leaders saw Lincoln, who had so crushed them, as their best hope of holding off radical demands for further punishment of the South.

Incidentally, some of Lincoln's rivals did worry that he might seek a third term in office, contrary to what was then still the unbroken practice of US presidents. There were even rumours that he planned to serve as president for life. How these fears would have played out had he lived – or even whether he would have run again in 1868 – there is no way to know [whether that would have happened].

What were Lincoln's reconstruction plans for the country after the Civil War had ended?
Carter: Lincoln was somewhat cagey on his precise plan for reconstruction. He began publicly discussing how to reconstruct the South in 1863 and 1864, while the war was still going on. Many historians therefore take the view that Lincoln's plan should be taken with a grain of salt: he was quite likely dangling it as a carrot, to induce some or all of the states in rebellion to surrender. We don't know for sure what he would have done later.

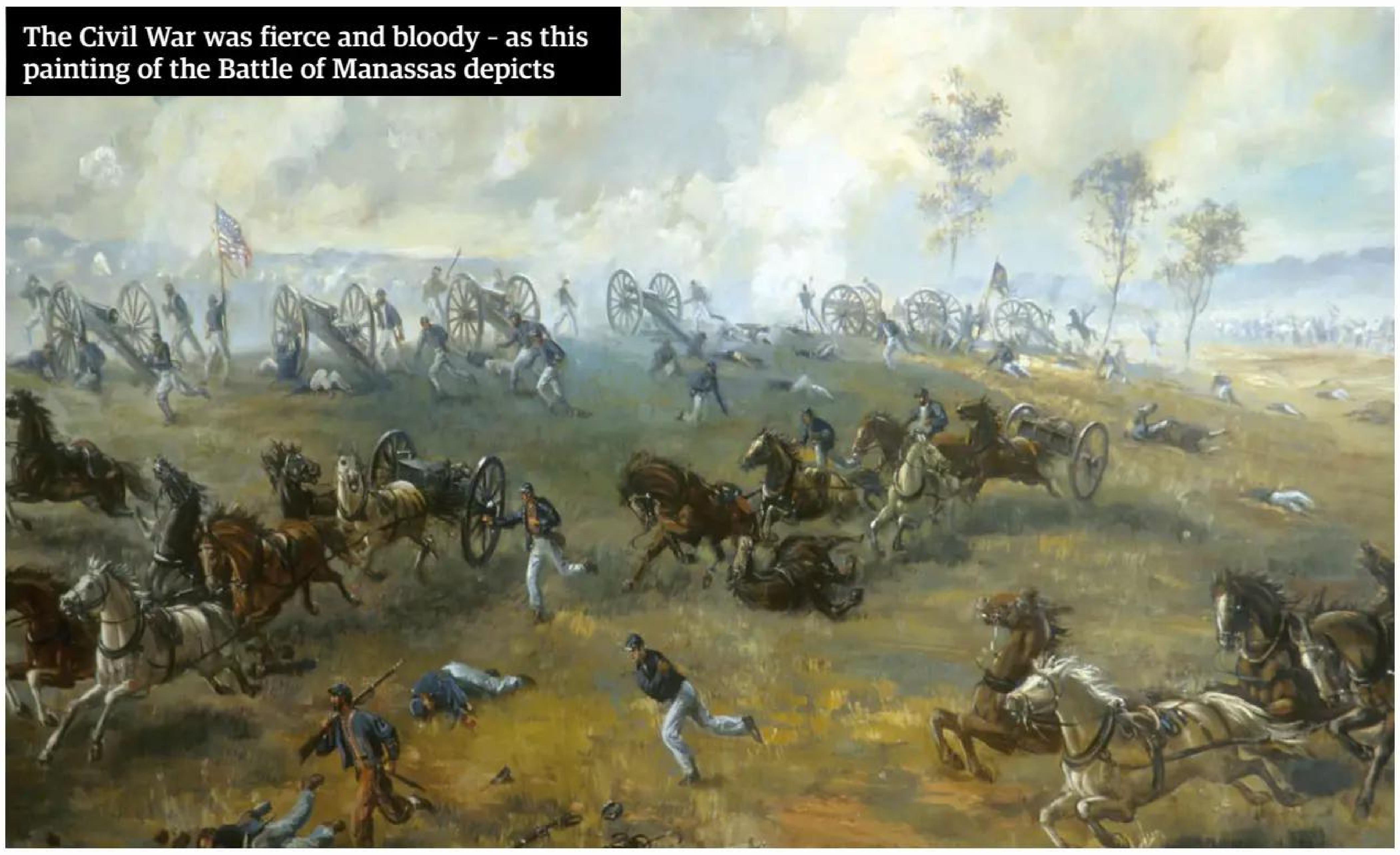
This plan had three essential elements. The best known is probably the "ten per cent" rule, holding that a state in rebellion could be readmitted once ten per cent of its eligible voters foreswore the Confederacy and pledged allegiance to the Union. At that point, the state would be allowed to form a new government, create a constitution and send representatives to Congress. Second, Lincoln promised to pardon all those who took part in the rebellion, apart from the high-ranking leaders. Third, he promised to protect private property other than slaves.

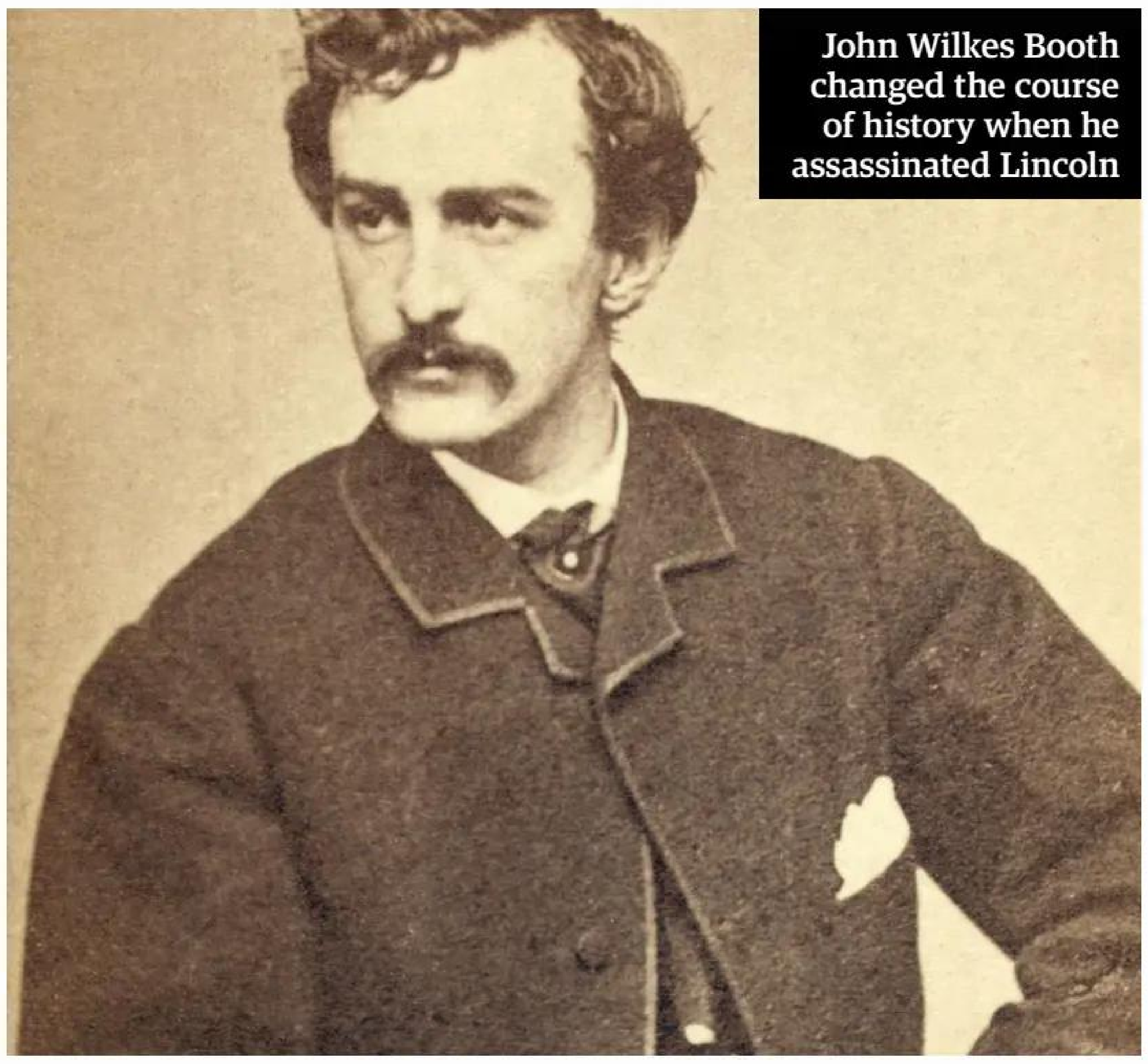
This last point was particularly clever. It's often forgotten that slaves were owned mainly by the planter aristocracy. The poor and working-class men who fought for the Confederacy were very unlikely to come from slaveholding families. Throughout the South, resentment of the slave-holding class was considerable. This resentment helped the northwestern corner of Virginia to secede from the state during the war (laying the foundation for the state of West Virginia), and might easily have led to secession (and return to the Union) of the western hills of North Carolina, where poor farms were plentiful and slaves were few.

Would Lincoln have been willing to compromise?
Lincoln was a wily politician – one of the best at the art of horse-trading. Had he lived, he likely would have reached a compromise with the radicals. He preferred, as he liked to say, an oath in which a man would pledge to do no wrong

New York Herald
Saturday, October 17th 1868
No.522
LINCOLN IN IMPEACHMENT THREAT!
President accused of overstepping constitutional authority during civil war and may be subjected to trial
WHITE UPRISING CONTINUES

> “Lincoln did many things any modern president would be impeached for”


The Civil War was fierce and bloody – as this painting of the Battle of Manassas depicts


John Wilkes Booth changed the course of history when he assassinated Lincoln

hereafter (as opposed to an oath insisting he had never done wrong), but he also made it clear that he could live with the stronger oath that Johnson preferred. The parties would surely have settled on some percentage between – perhaps 25 – of the eligible voters.

What's harder to predict is what Lincoln would have done about the freedmen. He wound up in a position of largely supporting black suffrage – not at all where he had begun – but he insisted that it not be made a condition of readmission to the Union. It isn't clear what sort of civil-rights legislation he would have supported. However, even had he supported the bills that Congress adopted after his assassination, the chances are that the Supreme Court would have held them unconstitutional anyway, which is what happened.

> "During the war years [...] he became content with the idea that the freed slaves would stay in the US"

Andrew Johnson was eventually impeached by Congress – had he lived, would Lincoln have faced a similar fate?

Here I want to be crystal clear. Although I have written a novel imagining a world in which Lincoln lived and was impeached, I do not think it likely that he would have been impeached. He was, as you suggest, too savvy. I am not sure that, as in my novel, he would have used various intrigues to battle his opponents. But I think he would have found compromise on the big issues.

Moreover, I doubt his opponents would seriously have tried. Lincoln enjoyed enormous prestige in the Union, without regard to the disdain in which he was held by the leadership of his own party. Breaking down that public support would have been an enormous task, and one that I suspect the leaders of the radicals would have hesitated to undertake.

How would the journey toward civil rights for all US citizens been different under Lincoln's direction?

This is a question over which many historians have puzzled. Lincoln himself evolved during the course of the war.

How would it be different?

Real timeline

1861

Lincoln is inaugurated
Mere weeks before the main slave states would secede from the United States, Republican Party leader Abraham Lincoln is inaugurated as the 16th US president. He's also the first Republican to hold the highest seat of office.
4 March 1861

Civil War breaks out
South Carolina, Mississippi, Florida, Alabama, Georgia, Louisiana and Texas, secede from the United States, forming the Confederate States of America and plunging the country into war. **12 April 1861**

Emancipation Proclamation is issued
As part of his crusade to abolish slavery in the United States, Lincoln issues a presidential proclamation that deems all the slaves in the ten rebellion states of the Confederacy to be free.
1 January 1863

Lincoln is assassinated
Just six days after the Confederate States surrender to the Union, Lincoln attends Ford's Theatre with his wife Mary Todd Lincoln, diplomat Henry Rathbone and Rathbone's fiancé Clara Harris. John Wilkes Booth, a Confederate sympathiser, and his conspirators decide to kill Lincoln. After barging into Lincoln's box at the theatre Booth shoots Lincoln in the head at point-blank range.
11 April 1865

Real timeline

Johnson becomes president
Lincoln's vice president, Andrew Johnson, is named the 17th president of the United States. A Democrat who ran with Lincoln on the Union Ticket, Johnson begins his presidency with plans to quickly reintegrate the seceded states. **15 April 1865**

Alternate timeline

An assassin thwarted
Confederate sympathiser John Wilkes Booth enters Ford's Theatre in Washington, DC, with the desire to kill president Lincoln, the symbol of the South's undoing. However, the plot is discovered and Booth is wounded.
11 April 1865

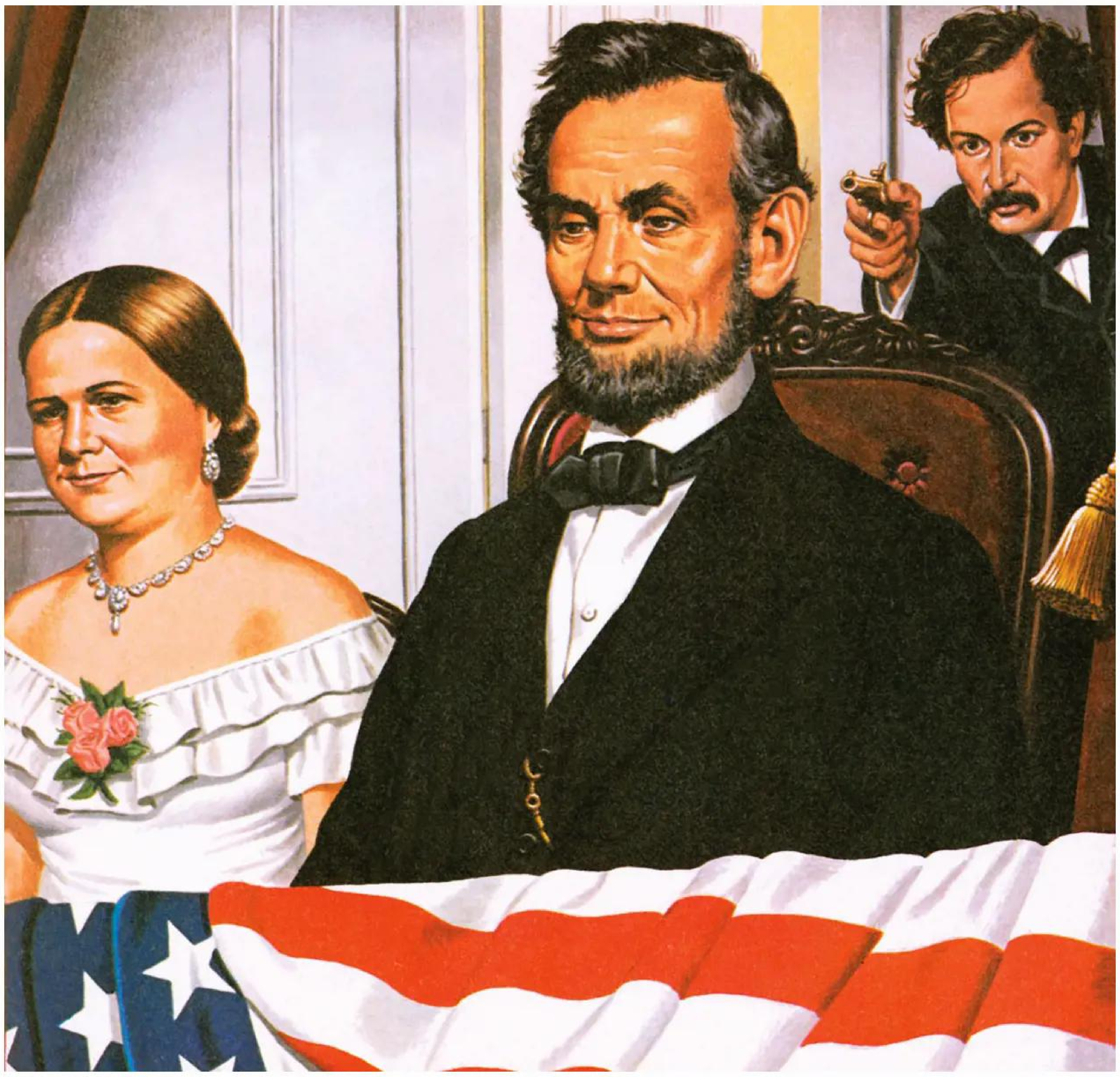
Originally he was against slavery, but thought the freed slaves should be returned to Africa. Originally he took the view that perhaps some of the more intelligent black men should be allowed to vote, but that was all. Lincoln also took the view that the white man and the black man, whatever their legal rights, could never be truly equal. He was a product of the frontier in which he grew up, and his views for that time and place, were actually somewhat progressive.

During the war years, his views began to change. He became content with the idea that the freed slaves would stay in the United States. He seemed to embrace the cause of what was known as "universal Negro suffrage." As I mentioned above, I don't want to claim that had Lincoln lived, the great sweep of history would have been different. That attaches too much importance to a single individual. But would there have perhaps been more progress, more swiftly, at least in a few areas? I would like to think so.

What would the repercussions of such an impeachment have been for Lincoln? How would it have affected his political career and ultimately his place in history?
Those who are martyred often fare better in history than those who are not. In Lincoln's day, it was common for members of the educated classes to claim that every president since Andrew Johnson (whom the elite didn't like anyway) had been mediocre. Lincoln plainly wasn't mediocre; the Civil War, the Emancipation Proclamation, and the 13th Amendment proved that.

I think his place in history would, or should, in any case have been secure. But it is the assassination, I think, that raised him to an exalted status that leaves him difficult to criticise. Would I still consider him, as I do, the greatest of the US presidents? I would like to think the answer is yes. But of course I have no sure way to tell.

Lincoln had to make some rather unpopular, perhaps even brutal, decisions to help facilitate the end of the Civil War. What would the repercussions have been for him following the end of the war?
In prosecuting the war, Lincoln suspended the right of habeas corpus. He ignored court orders to release prisoners. He allowed his secretary of state and his military to imprison journalists. He had his secret service read every telegram sent in the United States. He used force to prevent the Maryland legislature from meeting to vote on secession. The list goes on. Lincoln did many things any modern president would be impeached for. But it's important to remember that the office itself was young in his day, and his understanding of his own powers arose at a time when the government was weak, and the need for action was strong. I'm not justifying the things he did; I'm just trying to place them in context.



Lincoln wasn't Booth's original target – he originally intended to assassinate Ulysses S Grant and Andrew Johnson

© Look & Learn

Reconstruction begins
A plan detailed by Lincoln before his death, 'Reconstruction' is designed to reunify the states and heal a country ravaged by war. Under Johnson, the process is accelerated. **1865-1877**

Alaska is purchased
Alongside secretary of state William Seward, Andrew Johnson oversees the purchase of Alaska from Russia for $7.2 million. The newly acquired territory is renamed the District of Alaska. **30 March 1867**

Secretary of war suspended
Johnson, increasingly unpopular with Congress, comes to blows with secretary of war Edwin Stanton. Johnson demands his resignation, Stanton refuses and Johnson suspends him. **5 August 1857**

A public trial
Booth is publicly tried for his crime. The court, made up mostly of Northerners, finds him guilty by unanimous vote. He's sentenced to hang. Lincoln, keen to strengthen the fragile relationship with the South, pardons him. **9 June 1865**

Civil Rights Act is enacted
Despite Johnson's attempt to veto it, Congress passes the first federal law that defines that all US citizens are equal in the eyes of the law, including former slaves and members of the defeated Confederacy. **9 April 1866**

Lincoln is impeached
A radical movement manages to organise an impeachment of the president based on the Reconstruction's lack of substance and his unwillingness to punish the rebel states. Lincoln is savvy enough to use the event to his advantage. **1868**

Congress impeaches Johnson
Johnson informs Congress of Stanton's suspension. Congress reinstates Stanton, who is then suspended again by Johnson. Congress impeaches Johnson for being in breach of the Tenure of Office Act. **24 February 1868**

Civil Rights Act passed
Lincoln appeases the radical movement within the Republican Party by pushing through the 14th Amendment, ensuring the rights of every US citizen.
15 January 1866

Reconstruction starts
Congress pushes hard for a tangible start to Reconstruction, but Lincoln is unwilling to accelerate it, much to VP Johnson's chagrin. However, in late-1867, Lincoln commences the process. **September 1867**

The white uprising
The newly formed Ku Klux Klan attacks African-American families and agents of the Freedman Bureau. With the help of war hero Ulysses S Grant, Lincoln sees the Klan dismantled. **August 1868**

A country reunited
A shaken yet resolute Lincoln concedes that Reconstruction needs a swifter resolution. Eventually, the rebel states are reintegrated into the Union with enough sanctions to appease the North. **1870**

Lincoln passes away
Having seen Reconstruction through to its end, Lincoln passes away a year after his beloved wife Mary. The country mourns the loss of their former president.
November 1882

20th Century

Explore the possible outcomes of a time defined by politics, war and social change

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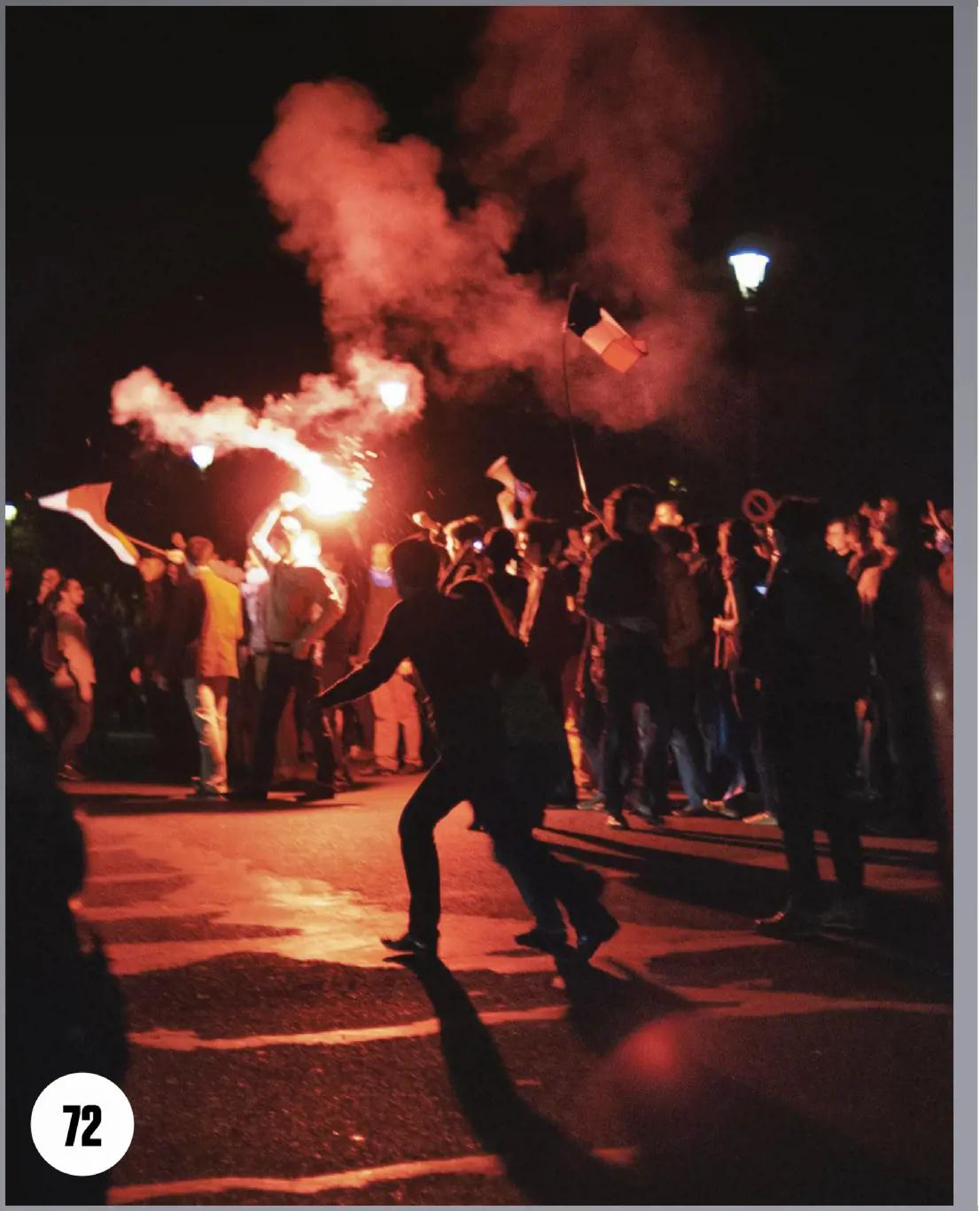


72

120

88

100

OUSE

MINSHALL
HEADQUARTERS
Nixon Now.
Nixon Now.
Now more than ever.

128

What if…

The US had invaded Canada?

Would the United States have gained a 46th state?

Originally titled, 'Assumption – war has broken out with Great Britain', the 1904/05 plan by the United States to invade Canada was the first of its plans for wars to be drafted. While crude by modern war-planning scenarios, it was audacious in its strategic thinking. Rather than fight Britain on its terms, the United States would strike where the nation was easiest to injure – Canada. Most likely this plan was devised after the tensions of the Venezuela Crisis of 1903-04.

The plan was aimed at crippling Britain economically. If Canada were taken from Britain, it would cut off nearly a third of the island's wheat and over 75 per cent of the nickel. Better yet, with a mostly undefended border, Canada was ripe pickings. The only downside to attacking the US's neighbour to the north was its vast size – it was akin to sending armies into Russia.

Thus the US plan for attacking Canada was not an all-out invasion but rather a direct attack across the Saint Lawrence Seaway to seize Fort Erie, Niagara Falls and the Welland Canal. Once secured, US cavalry forces would strike northward to Toronto, cutting off rail service and raiding at will.

Canada could do little to stop an invasion as the bridges across the Saint Lawrence were seized. With only roughly 12,000 militia and officers spread out across the vast territory, they would be fighting with limited ammunition, and only two batteries of artillery were posted in the Niagara area where the fighting would be the heaviest. The Canadians had a total of 12 machine guns in their entire defensive force, so defending Canada relied on arming private citizen gun clubs with Lee Rifles and giving them almost no formal training. With the US striking quickly, the closest professional military help for the Canadians was five hours away by rail (The Royal Canadian Dragoons). By the time they arrived, the invasion force would have taken its objectives – cutting off the Saint Lawrence Seaway, Fort Erie, and forming a compact defensive line around Niagara.

The US would be deploying a large number of troops, a full division of troops along with an additional division's worth of artillery and cavalry in reserve. US machine guns would be concentrated in the drive of seizing the canal and securing Toronto. The US army would have had little opposition in securing Ontario as a whole, cutting Canada in half.

Britain would respond, the US knew that. But by the time any British relief forces would have arrived, the US would be deeply entrenched and reinforced. The clashes by British troops to attempt to retake Toronto would have taken on a Great War effect, with troops rushing massed artillery and machine guns. With the US massing troops in Maine, threatening to cut off Halifax and resupply, Great Britain would have to face losing a significant and strategic portion of Canada.

Ontario would have become the 46th American state, while Britain would be forced to garrison the rest of Canada as a peace settled in.

How would it be different?

Real timeline

1902

Venezuelan Crisis
A naval stand off in Venezuela heightens tensions between the US, Britain and other major European powers like Germany.
1902-03

New Canadian military
The Canadian military is reformed with new corps being appointed and a new navy beginning to be constructed in 1911.
1904

Real timeline

WW1 begins
After the assassination of Archduke Ferdinand, the major European powers declare war. The BEF is sent to France.
28 July 1914

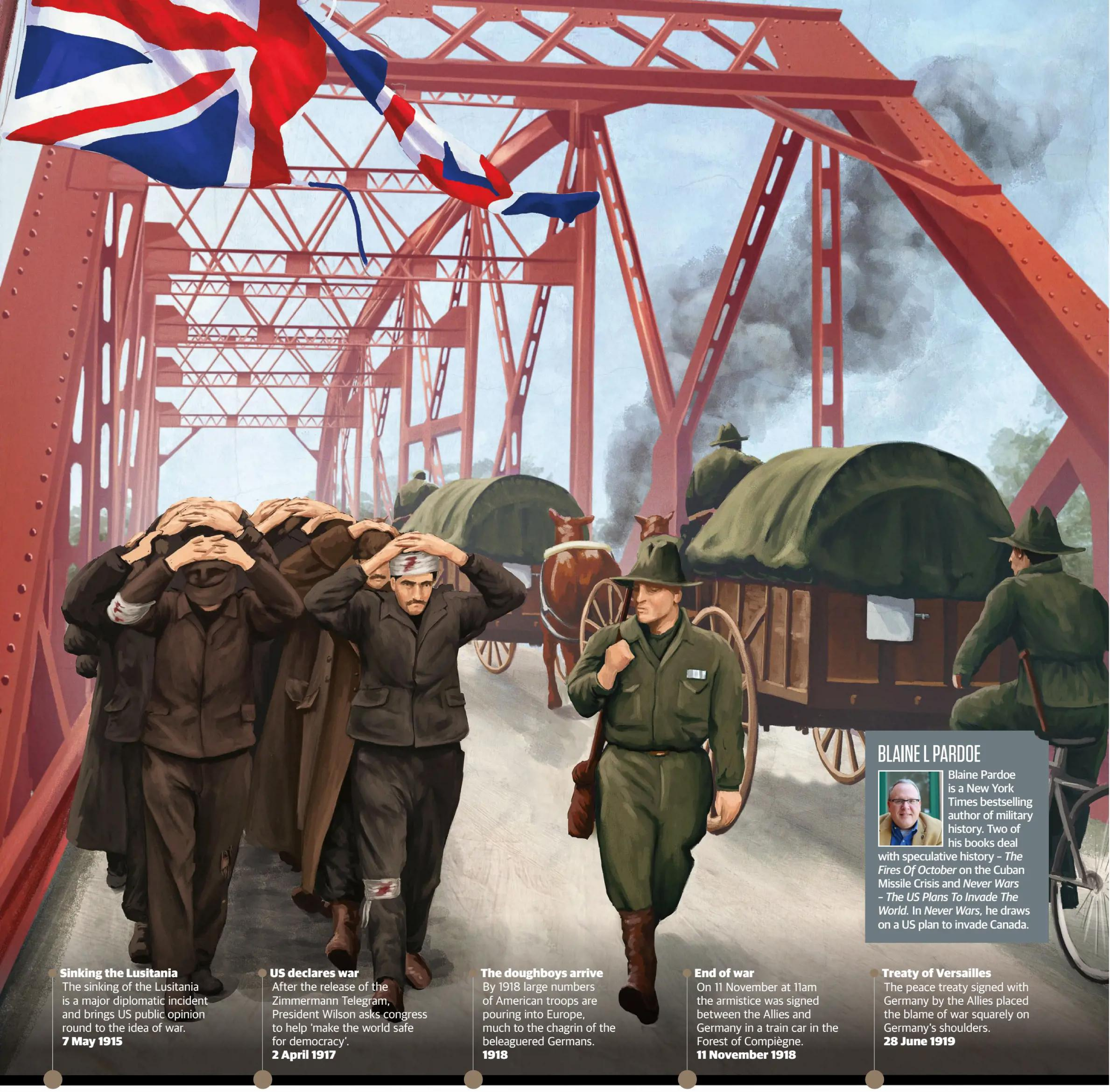
Arms supply
The US, an industrial powerhouse, would supply Europe with over $2.2-billion worth of arms and munitions.
August 1914 - March 1917

Battle of Mons
Despite inflicting numerous casualties on the numerically superior Germans, the BEF is forced to give ground but retreat in good order.
23 August 1914

Alternate timeline

Protecting the Front
British garrison forces reinforce Quebec to deter further American adventurism. Tensions remain high between Britain and the US as both sides build forts. **1905-14**

BEF formed
The outbreak of the Great War leaves Britain with a significantly smaller BEF force because of troops tied down in Canada.
Summer 1914



BLAINE L PARDOE

Blaine Pardoe is a New York Times bestselling author of military history. Two of his books deal with speculative history – *The Fires Of October* on the Cuban Missile Crisis and *Never Wars – The US Plans To Invade The World*. In *Never Wars*, he draws on a US plan to invade Canada.

Sinking the Lusitania
The sinking of the Lusitania is a major diplomatic incident and brings US public opinion round to the idea of war.
7 May 1915

US declares war
After the release of the Zimmermann Telegram, President Wilson asks congress to help 'make the world safe for democracy'.
2 April 1917

The doughboys arrive
By 1918 large numbers of American troops are pouring into Europe, much to the chagrin of the beleaguered Germans.
1918

End of war
On 11 November at 11am the armistice was signed between the Allies and Germany in a train car in the Forest of Compiègne.
11 November 1918

Treaty of Versailles
The peace treaty signed with Germany by the Allies placed the blame of war squarely on Germany's shoulders.
28 June 1919

The rout of Mons
The BEF is driven back, causing a collapse of the French lines. The Allies fall back, giving Germany significant territorial gains.
23 August 1914

Battle of Paris
A defensive arc around Paris is formed. The British and French hold the line, which quickly devolves into a bloody stalemate.
24 November 1914

Unrestricted naval warfare
The US selling and shipping of munitions to Germany forces Britain to call for unrestricted naval warfare.
4 February 1915

Quebec independence movement
In retaliation, the US arms Quebec nationalists. Uprisings take place and the British garrison is soon under siege.
March 1915-16

US refuse neutrality
With a British army in the north, the US refuses to sell munitions to Britain but agrees to supply France and Germany.
4 August 1914

Coastal battles
The German armies swing north and secure strategic ports. Dunkirk and Calais fall and the Channel becomes a contested passage.
10 September 1914

US seizes RMS Lusitania
RMS Lusitania is laden with illegal munitions, and is seized in New York harbour. Tensions between Britain and the US escalate.
10 December 1914

WWI ends
France sues for peace as Britain sends the BEF overseas to cope with the uprisings. Britain and France are blamed for the war.
10 March 1916

©Kevin McGivern

What if...
Teddy Roosevelt had won in 1912?

Disillusioned with the administration of William Taft, the former Republican president mounted a third-party challenge

PROFESSOR KRISTOFER ALLERFELDT

Kristofer teaches US History at the University of Exeter. He is the author of *Organized Crime in the United States, 1865-1941.* His next book The Klan: An American History is due for release in 2023.

© Professor Kristofer Allerfeldt

Theodore 'Teddy' Roosevelt's life reads like a road map for the Great American Dream. From privileged childhood to cattle rancher in Dakota to governor of New York, then from vice president to president, he was catapulted into the presidency by the assassination of William McKinley in 1901. But he was no second-class substitute, winning another term in his own right in 1904. Battling corruption in big business and politics, he was not afraid of a fight. His belief in himself and what he stood for left him disappointed with the presidency of William Taft and in 1912 he set his sights on a third term in office, as the candidate for his new Progressive Party.

How divisive was Roosevelt as a politician and would a victory in 1912 have changed the Republican Party forever?

Roosevelt was certainly polarising, not just politically but personally. There is no doubt that his shift to a less conciliatory approach to business than McKinley must have ruffled more than a few feathers among the Republican supporters and that stance was more apparent than ever in 1912. His aggressive and interventionist foreign policy was also equally divisive in the Republican ranks. If he had won, well... I think the Republican Party would have had to amalgamate, somehow, with the Bull Moose [Progressive Party] and who knows what that would have meant to the

Mount Rushmore memorial has Roosevelt next to Lincoln

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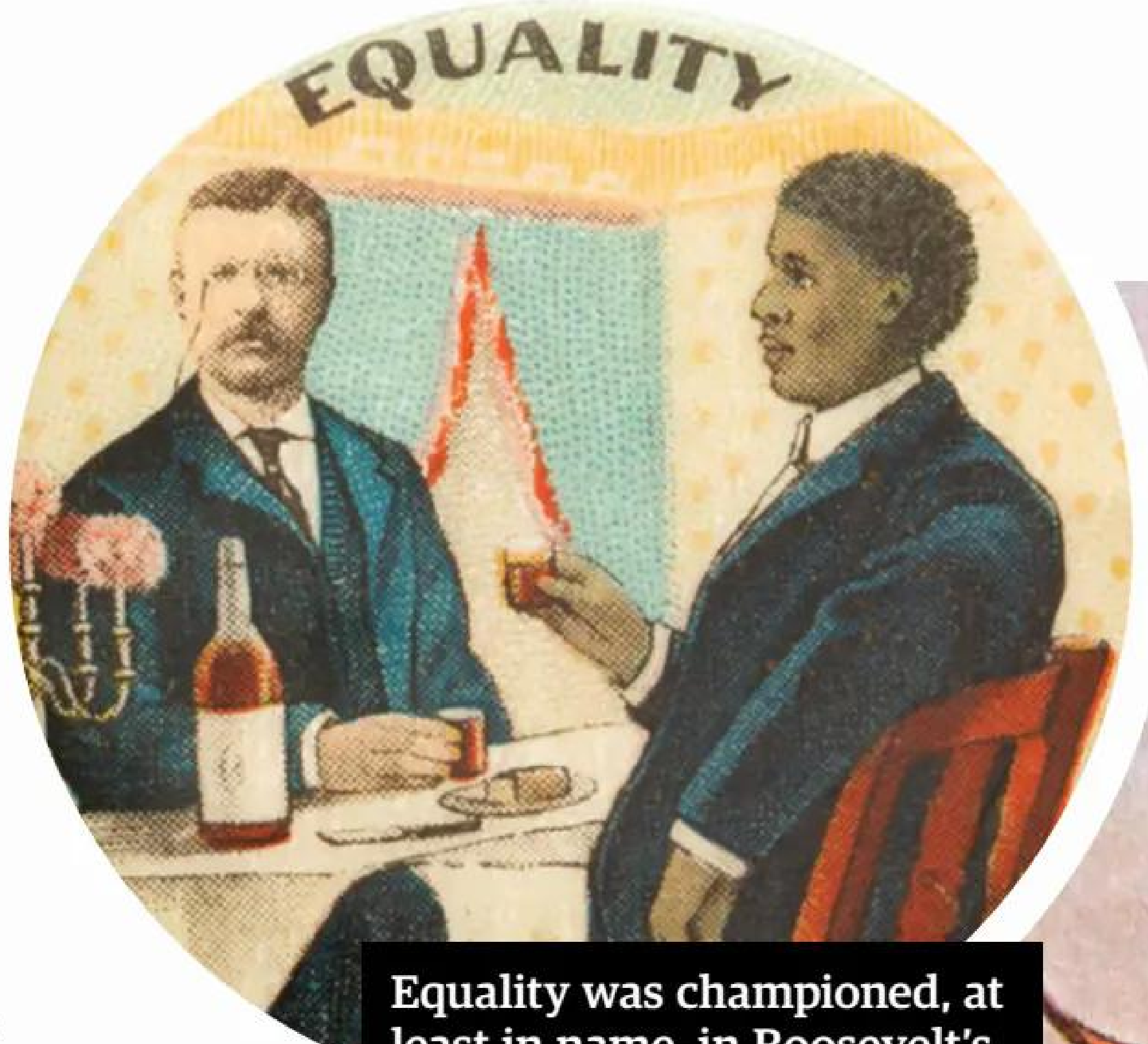
"Good Times"

Republican's evolving stance on capitalism. I feel more certain that the interventionist foreign policy issues would have taken centre stage a great deal earlier than April 1917.



Equality was championed, at least in name, in Roosevelt's presidential campaigns

What may have been the most prominent political and social changes he would've instigated?

Roosevelt's 'New Nationalism' platform was radical. His stance on labour issues promised the previously unthinkable: an eight-hour working day and a European-style national insurance. Policies like these had previously been the province of radicals like the Industrial Workers of the World and the Socialists. I'm not sure that they would have been achievable. In terms of his political legacy, even his virtual cult status had not been enough for him to defeat the rather colourless, pedestrian Taft for the [Republican]nomination. I suspect his division of the party would have haunted him and hampered his career in the unlikely event he'd won the nomination, and an even less likely victory at the polls.

How, if at all, would a Roosevelt victory have benefitted minority groups and women?

The obvious element here is Roosevelt's seeming inclusivity. He was not, like [Democrat Woodrow] Wilson, a Southerner. Yet it is debatable whether he would have segregated the Federal Government. Again, unlike Wilson, he was in favour of women's suffrage. In those respects he may be considered progressive and his actions presumably [would've been] beneficial. On the other hand, this liberalism should not be taken too far. He demonstrated, with his handling of the Brownsville 'mutiny' in 1906, that he by no means regarded African-Americans as equals. His discussions of the 'War of the Cradle' and his feelings on the issue of women's position in society show him as very much a man of his times. Also, Roosevelt was far more committed to the then-fashionable eugenics arguments than Wilson. He believed in a racial hierarchy, but to him it was a controllable hierarchy, which although in many cases was permeable and flexible would nonetheless shock us today. So it rather depends on what you see as a benefit.

What kind of clash would there have been with big business? Was he a threat to organised crime?

Roosevelt was already known to be his own man when it came to commerce. His handling of the Anthracite Strike in 1902 had shown him to be a progressive, favouring a moderate policy. To big business this marked him as a radical. The reality is apparent in his New Nationalism's stance on trusts. To him a trust could be beneficial as well as detrimental. Roosevelt saw the Federal Government's role as being the arbiter of that distinction. Unsurprisingly business generally saw this intervention as abhorrent, but they probably felt it far less dangerous to their survival than the alternatives: Taft's record of splitting up corporations, Wilson's blanket mistrust of all monopolies, or [Eugene] Debs' implicit revolution. For this reason I feel the clash

THE NEW DIPLOMACY
DISPUTE BETWEEN NATIONS
CONTROVERSY
CENTRAL AMERICA

Roosevelt led his 'rough riders' in the Spanish-American War of 1898

The Past

PRE-1901

The Spirit of America

Roosevelt had not been born into the frontiersman pioneering lifestyle of folklore, but he embraced it and used it to his own ends. His image of a rough-and-ready cowboy rancher was a far cry from the city streets, foreign travel and privileged surroundings of his formative years. And yet it was not all show. His life was perhaps less of a contradiction and more of a perfect mix of America's past and a modern future. His action-man lifestyle balanced perfectly in the public eye with his 'progressive' politics in defence of the rights of the individual.

1904

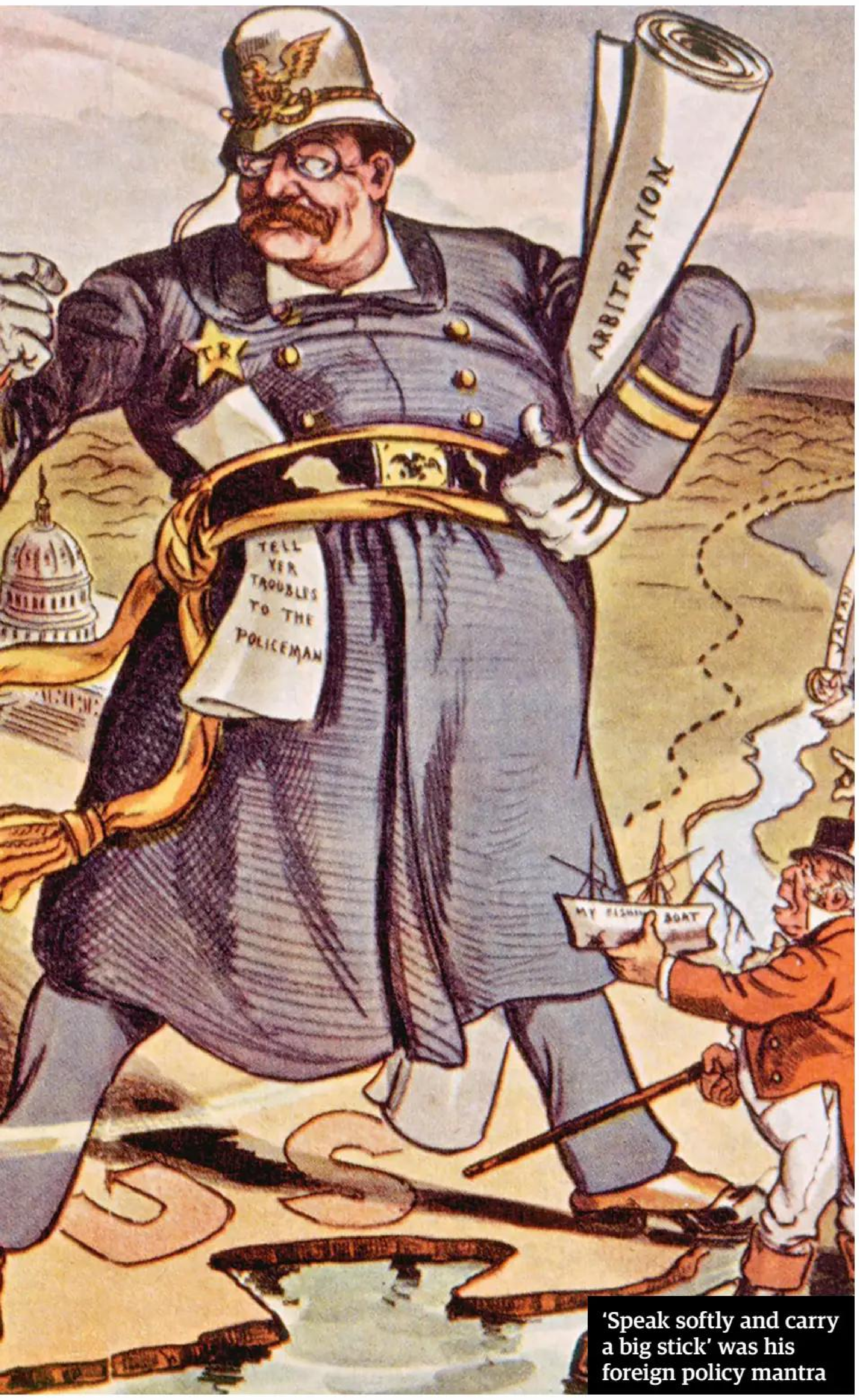
Seizing the Day

With McKinley's death in 1901 Roosevelt was well and truly in the spotlight. If he'd had any doubters, then his re-election in 1904 silenced them. By now Roosevelt was well and truly a public figure of enormous stature and reputation. His image as a champion of the people was underpinned by his 'Square Deal' policy to protect the consumer, conserve natural resources and control large corporations. He dramatically expanded the system of national parks, campaigned for a welfare state, regulated the railways, and supported unions to represent the ordinary working man.

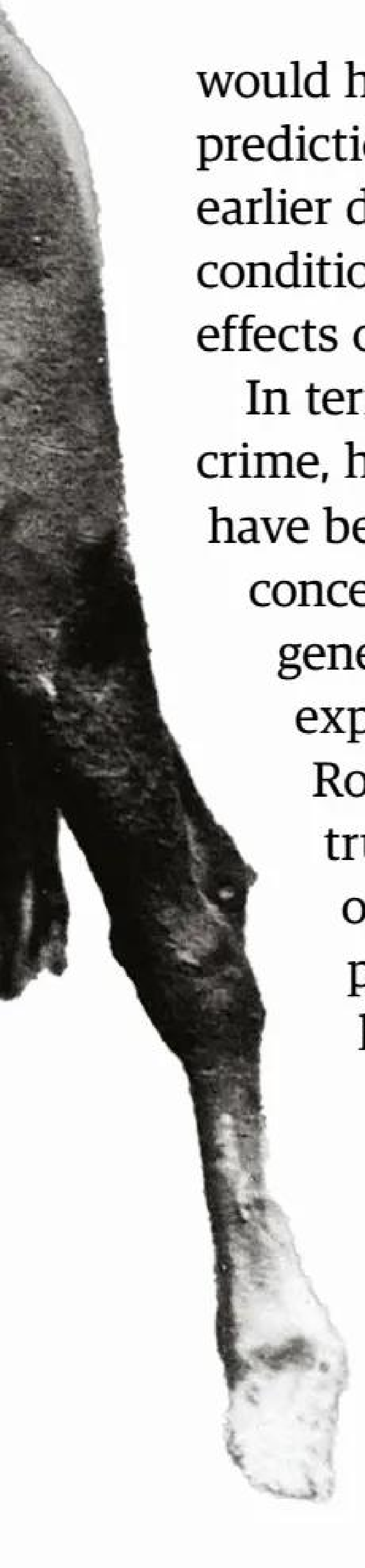
1912

Never Say Never

Having previously ruled out a third term, Roosevelt became so disillusioned with President Taft, and the Republican Party, that he had to stand again. He formed the breakaway Progressive Party. Even an assassination attempt didn't stop him, but up against the progressive Democrat Woodrow Wilson, Roosevelt knew he would lose votes. Wilson was triumphant, with the Republican vote split. Roosevelt was second with the highest-ever percentage of votes for a third-party candidate.



'Speak softly and carry a big stick' was his foreign policy mantra



"The US would have entered WWI at a far earlier date had Roosevelt been in power"

would have been muted. I also back this view up with the prediction that the US would have entered WWI at a far earlier date had Roosevelt been in power, creating boom conditions for the US economy and distinctly beneficial effects on troublesome labour.

In terms of the threat Roosevelt presented to organised crime, he had policing experience but I'm not sure it would have been top of his agenda. Organised crime is a malleable concept and over these years I would argue that it was generally seen in the public's mind in terms of the exploitation of the nation by trusts and white slavers. Roosevelt would have represented less of a threat to trusts than either of the alternative candidates. But on the issue of white slavery, I feel – with his rather puritanical and prurient streak – he would probably have backed the extensions of the Mann Act which took place in the Supreme Court over these years.

How might his presidency have developed the US militarily?

Roosevelt was, as he would no doubt have put it, famously 'bully' about military matters and the role of America in the world. I very much suspect that he would have taken the nation into WWI far earlier than Wilson did, and way before Debs would even have contemplated it. If he could not persuade Congress to back such measures, I feel he would still have re-armed and expanded all parts of the military far faster than his opponents. The results? Who knows? US finance, resources, manpower and enthusiasm may have swayed the balance of power. But there is a chance that without the strategic lessons learned by 1918, they may have just been bloodily and expensively squandered. In the long-term I've no doubt they would have prevailed. Closer to home, given his previous record, it is probable that Roosevelt would have intervened in Mexico and Haiti, probably with more forces.

Can Roosevelt be regarded as a progressive symbol of America's future or a throwback to its wild pioneering past?

I'm a historian, you know I have to say "both" – it's in my academic DNA! Roosevelt was a capital "P" Progressive. He believed in rationalism. He was urban, Christian, paternal and forward-looking. He passionately believed in the power of education as a force for change, both in the individual and in society. That, I think, was where he distinguished himself from his opponents. Wilson's messianic mission was driven by belief in himself and his destiny. Taft's belief was in the power and guidance of the law and the Constitution. Debs' socialism was didactic. He knew how America could, and should, be changed. But Roosevelt was also the cowboy, the pioneer, the macho frontiersman, the boxer, the hunter and the soldier. He saw nothing wrong with combining the abstracts, theories and laws of education with the 'strenuous life'. He saw that hybrid nature of drivers as what distinguished and elevated the American and cultivated him, and to Roosevelt it was a 'him'. So, yes, Roosevelt was proudly a combination of both features – and that, I feel, is how we should regard him.

What future events in US and/or world history may have changed with a Roosevelt third term?

I'm not sure that World War I would have been that different. I think the peace which followed – had Roosevelt been in power, or even survived that long – would have been dramatically different. Depending on his wartime experiences, and those of his children, I feel he would have negotiated a far less idealistic and, probably, more nationalistic treaty in Paris, or wherever. If – and it is a big if – that had happened, perhaps the United States would have assumed a role similar to that taken up in 1945. Maybe that would have precluded the rise of fascism. Perhaps that, in turn, would have prevented the Cold War. On the other hand maybe his gung-ho nature would have forced such casualties on the US that it was America and not Russia that turned to revolution.

The Possibility

1914-1916?

The Great War

Roosevelt had first-hand experience of war and was not one to shy away from confrontation. He also had personal experience of Europe through his travels as a young man, so it is just possible that he may have come to the aid of the Allies in World War I sooner than actually happened. The sheer volume of resources that the US could have potentially put into the conflict at that early stage could well have changed the nature of the war, both in how it was fought and for how long.

1920s & 30s

Failure of Fascist Future

Despite the US fighting alongside the Allies in WWI, the post-war treaties that followed were far from resilient. The US chose to go its own way, culminating in the US-German Peace Treaty of 1921 that in effect softened the financial blow on post-war Germany. As president, Roosevelt may well have taken a different, harsher view of Germany's situation well before this, which in turn may well have given the victorious Allies more control over Germany's affairs. This may have suppressed the influence and escalation of fascism and it's possible that war in 1939 could have been less likely.

1920s

Second US Revolution

The US' ability to 'wield a big stick' in foreign policy increased due to its developing economy and industrial muscle. Roosevelt's commitment to protecting US borders may have increased in machinery, manpower and money. Had his commitment to WWI resulted in the deaths of hundreds of thousands of US troops, justifying the sacrifice and commitment financially would've been immense. Pressure on the economy from such overseas involvement, personal loss and anger at policy-making may have sparked unrest and even revolution.

AllImages; © Alamy

What if…

America joined the League of Nations?

If Congress had ratified the Treaty of Versailles, would it have strengthened the league's abilities?

INTERVIEW WITH... PROFESSOR DAVID STEVENSON

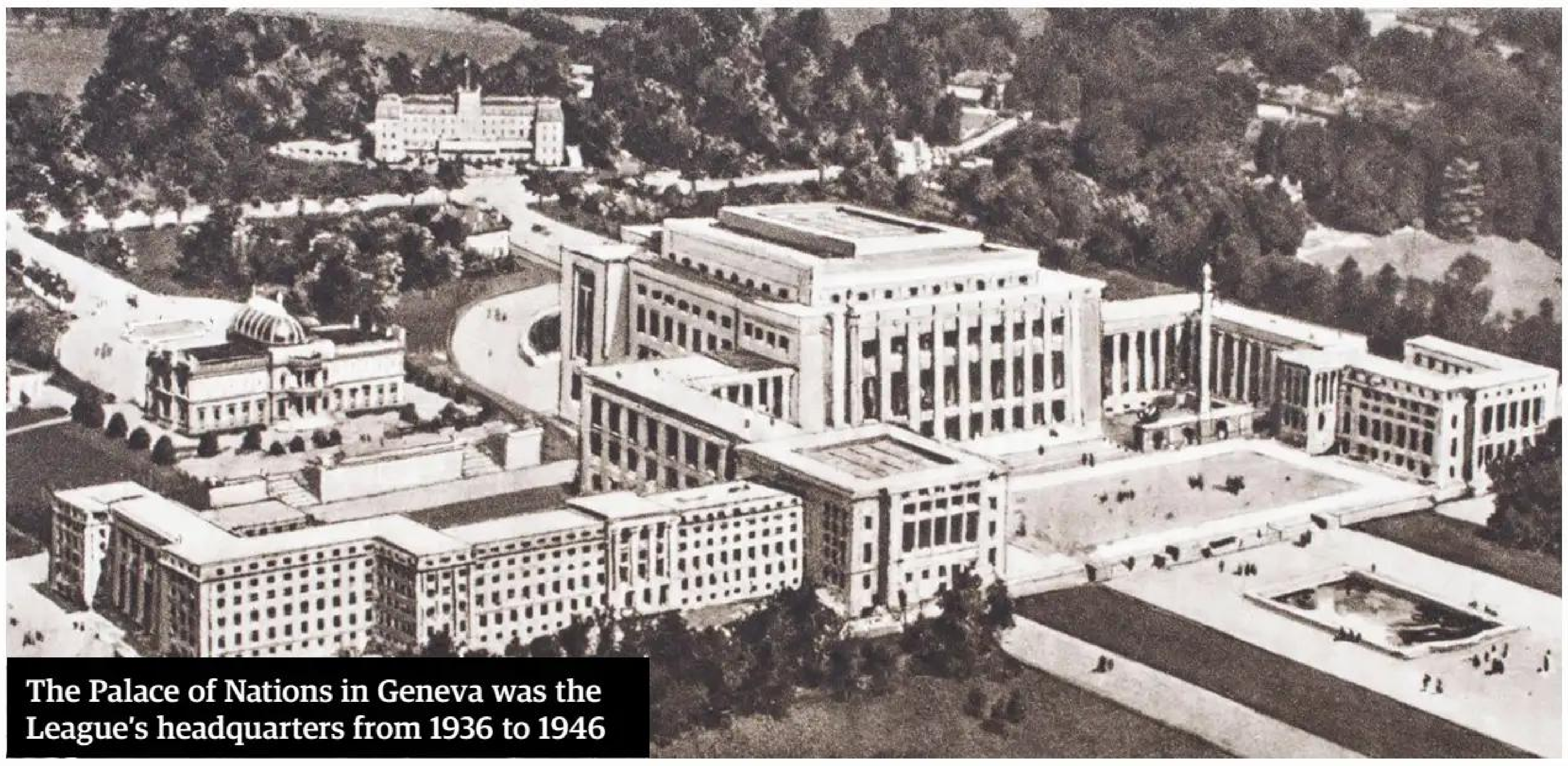
Professor Stevenson is a professor of international history at the London School of Economics, specialising in international relations in Europe in the 19th and 20th centuries and the impact of the First World War.

What was the background to the creation of the League of Nations?

You need to go back to the First World War. The American president, Woodrow Wilson, expressed support in principle for the idea as far back as 1916, which was before America even came into the war. He said that America should join such an organisation if it was set up. At the end of the war in November 1918, the Armistice, there is an agreement that everybody - the Allies, the Americans, the Germans - will make peace. So the League of Nations is the first thing on the agenda when the Paris Peace Conference meets to draw up the treaty in January 1919. The League of Nations covenant becomes the first 26 articles of the Treaty of Versailles with Germany in June 1919.

What was the purpose of the League of Nations?

The League grows out of a body of progressive thinking in America and Britain before the First World War. The essential thinking is the First World War is a disaster, and the fact it happened is blamed on the pre-war balance of power. [It's set up] to prevent that kind of disaster happening again. The idea is you don't outlaw war, but before two countries can go to war they have to jump through a series of hoops, and they can only go to war if all peacekeeping procedures have been exhausted.



The Palace of Nations in Geneva was the League's headquarters from 1936 to 1946

Why didn't America join the League of Nations?

For the US to join the League of Nations, the US needed to ratify the Treaty of Versailles. Under the US constitution you needed a two-thirds majority in the Senate to ratify that agreement. Wilson didn't like that, because he knew that there was a lot of opposition in the Senate to joining the League, but he thought the Senate would not dare to refuse to ratify the peace treaty with Germany.

There was no historical precedent for the Senate doing that, rejecting a peace treaty. Wilson was a Democrat, and the Republicans had gained a small majority in the Senate mid-term elections in November 1918. So Wilson's party didn't have a numerical majority to get this treaty approved. He's only going to get the treaty passed if he can split the Republicans and get the moderate Republicans to join up with the Democrats. Most of the Republicans were willing to accept the League of Nations subject to what are called reservations that come from Senator Henry Cabot Lodge. The most important of the Lodge reservations is that it reserves Congress' right to declare war under the constitution. In other words, America would not be automatically bound to go to war if the League of Nations council decided that there should be military action. Wilson is not prepared to accept the reservations, and so you have a kind of deadlock. Because Wilson refuses to compromise with the Republicans, he says the Democrats should vote against the League of

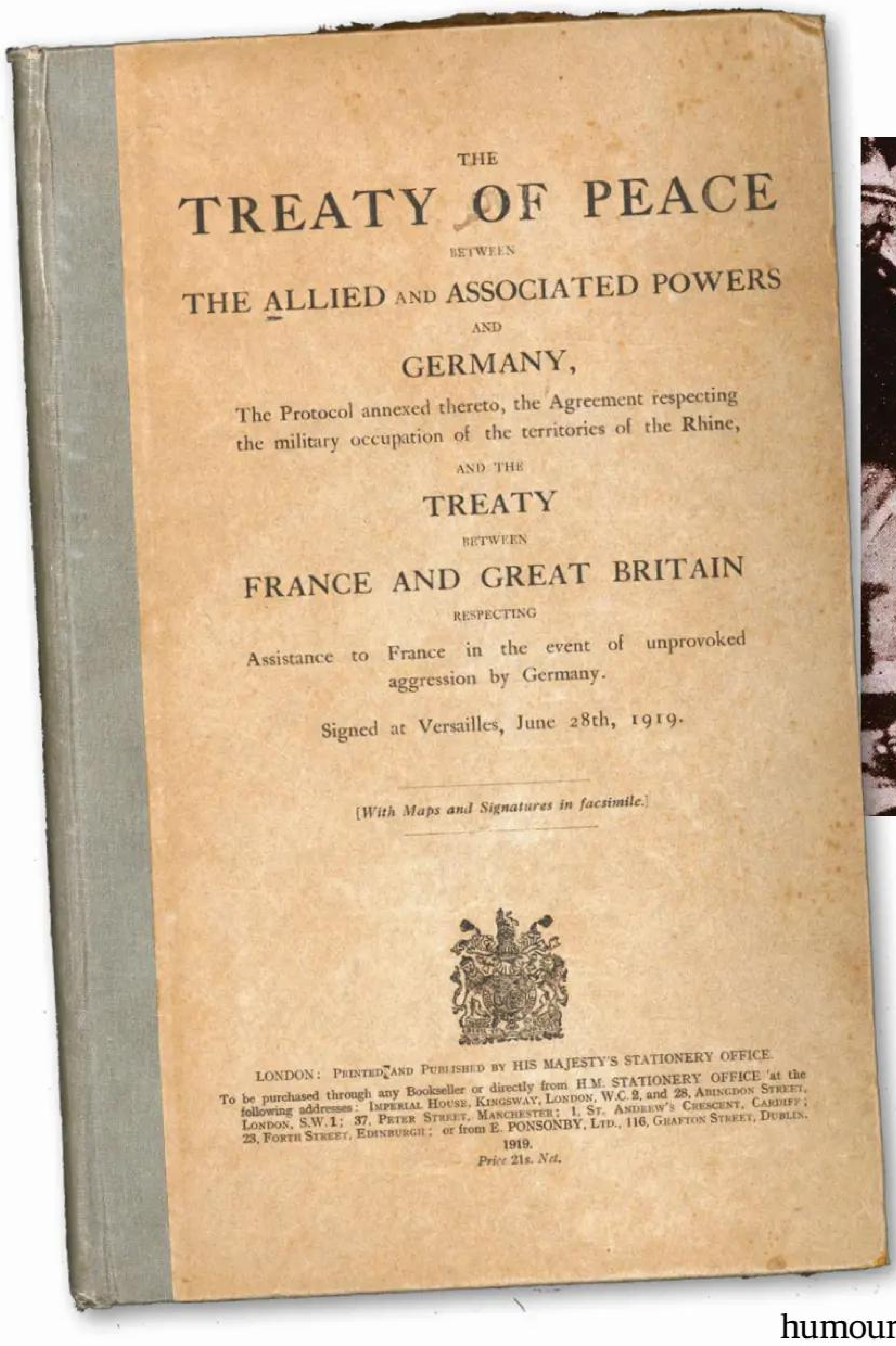
© Alamy Images

Woodrow Wilson failed to get America into the League

Nations covenant rather than to accept it with reservations.

So the compromise position is rejected, and Wilson can't get it through on his own terms. He makes it a key issue in the 1920 elections, but the Democrats lose and that's really the end of it.

Is there a scenario where they could have joined?
It's a question of whether there could have been some kind of compromise between Wilson and the moderate Republicans on the basis of a modified peace treaty, or even a peace treaty that dropped the League of Nations altogether. There was some pretty wide support among Republicans for a treaty guarantee with France against German aggression, which is what Wilson proposed at the Paris peace conference, but that collapses when the Senate refuses and doesn't ratify the peace treaty. If the Americans had given that guarantee, Britain would have done so as well, and France would have been protected by both Anglo-Saxon powers against German aggression.



THE
TREATY OF PEACE
BETWEEN
THE ALLIED AND ASSOCIATED POWERS
AND
GERMANY,
The Protocol annexed thereto, the Agreement respecting the military occupation of the territories of the Rhine,
AND THE
TREATY
BETWEEN
FRANCE AND GREAT BRITAIN
RESPECTING
Assistance to France in the event of unprovoked aggression by Germany.
Signed at Versailles, June 28th, 1919.

[*With Maps and Signatures in facsimile.*]

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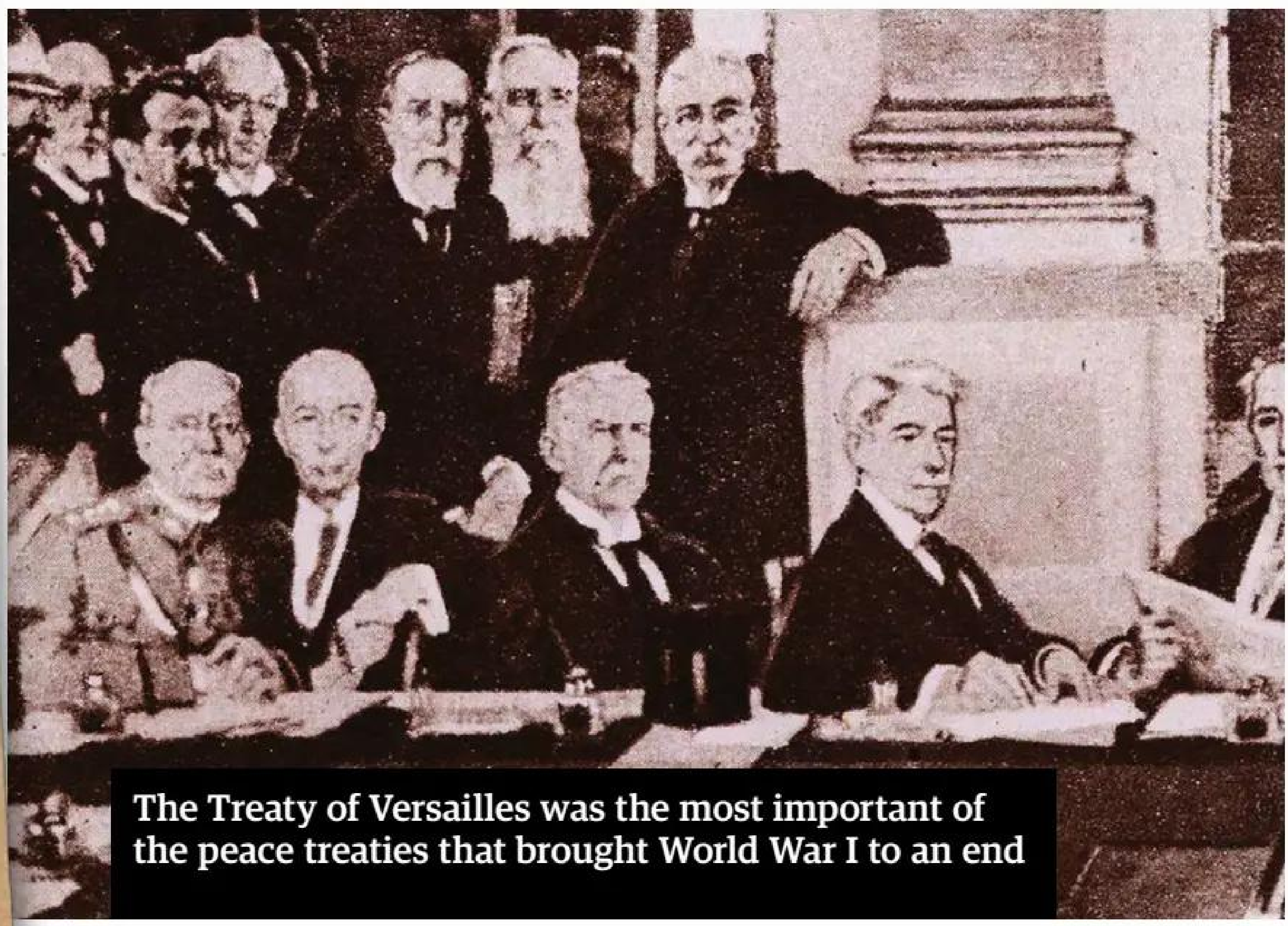
Above: A copy of the Treaty of Versailles



The Treaty of Versailles was the most important of the peace treaties that brought World War I to an end

"The Americans would not have been willing to give the League strong backing"

The League ultimately failed to prevent the rise of Hitler

What if the US had joined the League of Nations in some form?
Well, "in some form" is the key thing. If the Americans had joined but not really been prepared to join much more than on paper and kind of unenthusiastic about it, then they would have done so on pretty much the same basis that Britain and France did. The majority of the British and France governments were sceptical about the League, but they joined in order to humour the Americans, thinking that Wilson was going to be able to get America in. When Wilson wasn't able to do that, Britain and France were left with the primary responsibility of making the organisation work. The Americans would not have been willing to give the League strong backing. [But] if the Americans had taken part that would have been useful for economic sanctions.

Would US involvement have changed the League's activities in the run-up to the Second World War?
One question mark is whether the Americans would have accepted any mandates. One of the areas Britain wanted to take a mandate for was Armenia, where massacres and genocide had taken place in 1915. Armenia ends up being divided between Turkey and Russia. As far as the League's humanitarian activities are concerned, if America had been in it might actually have weakened the capacity to intervene in the International Labour Organisation, because the Americans were on the whole less developed than European countries in their protection of labour conditions and recognising trade unions. It might have led to pushes in other directions, for example temperance. The Americans were very concerned about controlling the international liquor trade and narcotics trade.

Would anything else have changed?
The biggest single question mark is whether, if the Americans had gone in, it would have strengthened the League's ability to impose economic sanctions. A good example of this is the Abyssinian crisis of 1935. It's probably the most determined attempt by the League to stop an aggression, because all of the League's members agreed to impose economic sanctions against Italy. The Americans were not part of the League, and oil companies continued to export to Italy. Had America been in it might have put more pressure on the Italians to halt their war against Abyssinia.

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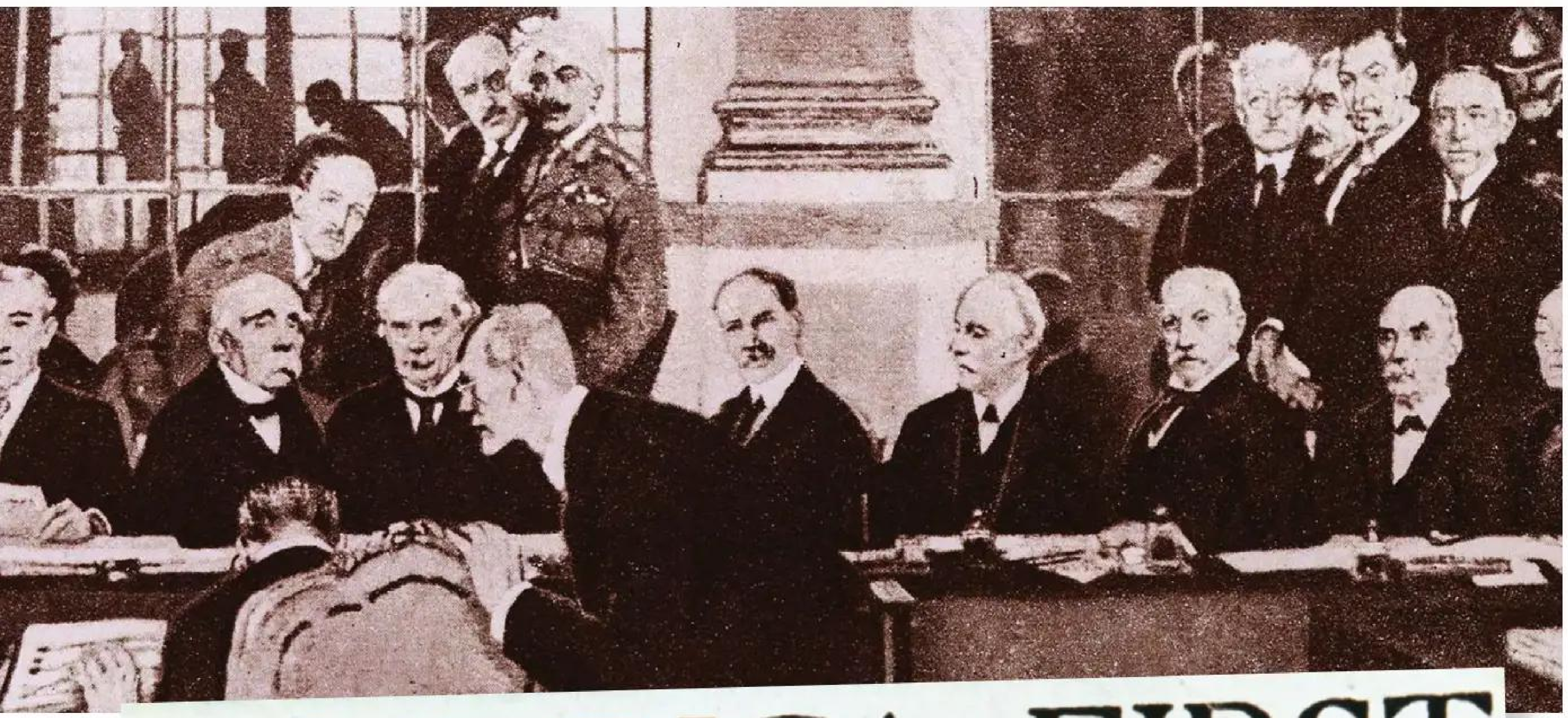

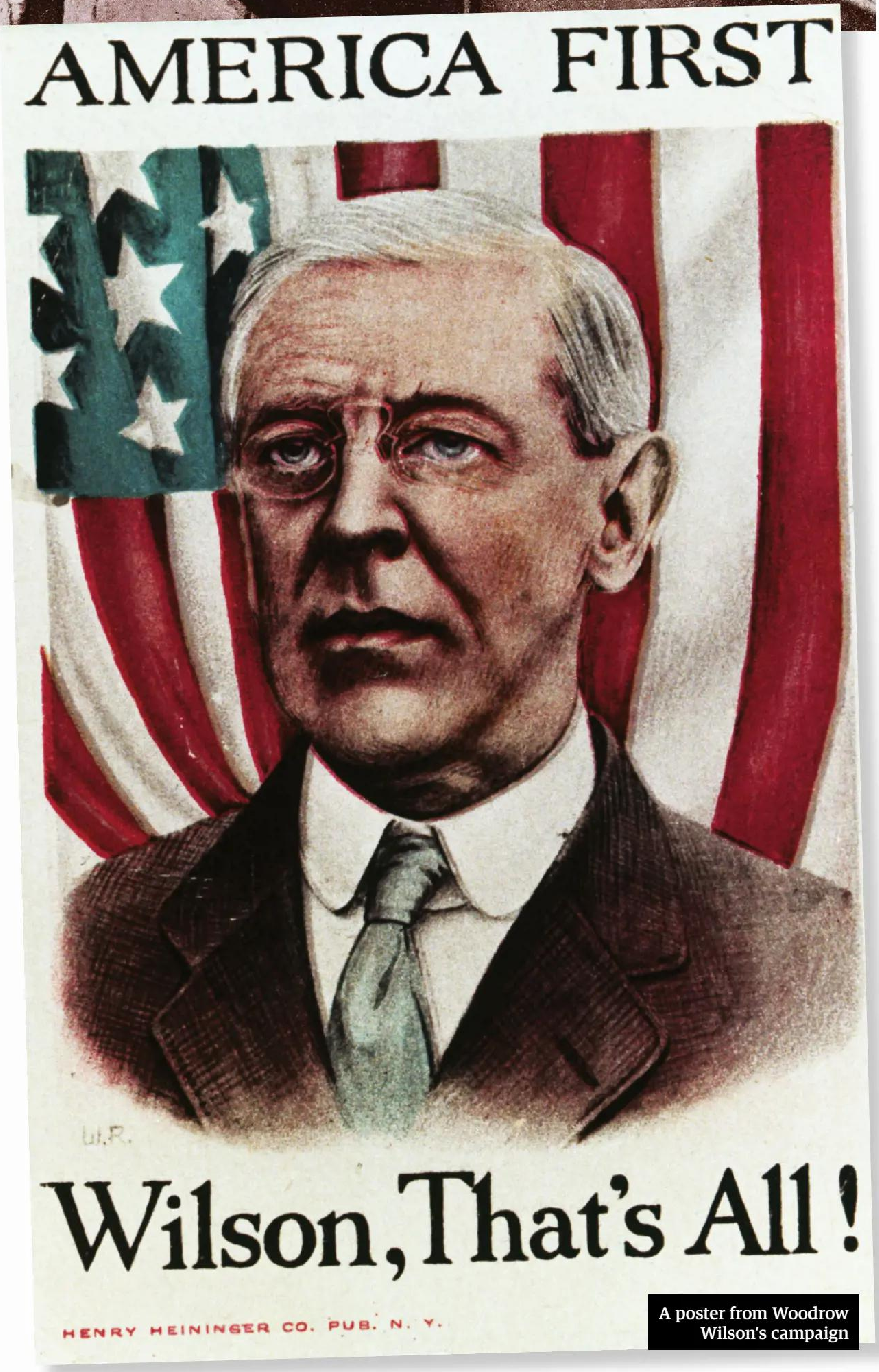
AMERICA FIRST
Wilson, That's All!
HENRY HEININGER CO. PUB. N. Y.

A poster from Woodrow Wilson's campaign

Lessons for the UN

The ultimate failure of the League of Nations, created to prevent a conflict on the scale of the Great War, was the outbreak of World War II. As such, it is no surprise that the member states felt no pull towards reconstituting that organisation when peace was finally achieved and renewed vigour for cooperation was found. From its ashes and its failed promise rose the United Nations.

The UN features several mechanisms that have made it a more successful apparatus for maintaining peaceful relations between nations. The US being involved and having a powerful Security Council gives the UN teeth that the LON never had. Committees on health, labour, education and child welfare also mean it is tackling more that just high-level diplomacy, but the fostering of democratic and humanitarian values too. Mistakes have been made over the years, but it has proven to be a much healthier organisation.

The five permanent members of the UN Security Council are the USA, Russia, China, France and the United Kingdom

Could America's involvement have altered the League's perceived lack of power?

It would have depended on how the Americans interpreted their role in the League. It would be necessary for the Americans, with the big crises in the 1930s, to have said to Britain and France that they need to take a firm line against aggression. If the Americans had just been in in name only, I think the League would have continued to lack credibility. If the Americans had given a firm guarantee with Britain and France against German aggression that could really have made a difference in the early and mid-1930s, when Hitler begins rearmament. It's a kind of lost opportunity to stop German aggression before it becomes impossible to stop without a major war.

Would this have had any other major impacts?

One thing is American isolationism in the 1930s. There's a very strong reaction in the mid-1930s against the consequences of American involvement in the First World War. Congress passes neutrality acts in 1935, 1936 and 1937 which provide that if another war breaks out in Europe or Asia, America will not lend any money, will not sell any weapons to the countries that are at war, and will not travel on Allied or enemy passenger ships. If America had been in the League, that isolationist reaction would have been even stronger than it actually was, given the view of many people that the League of Nations was something that was a completely unacceptable infringement on American sovereignty. So it could actually have been counter-productive.

What if…
The 1929 Wall Street Crash had been averted?

A seismic financial shock wave ruins the hopes and dreams of millions and turns boom to bust

INTERVIEW WITH… ALEX WOOLF

Alex has written more than 200 books on a wide range of subjects, including the Wall Street Crash. His The History of the World has sold over 100,000 copies.

The 'Roaring Twenties' in the USA was a decade of a self-indulgence, parties, movie stars, ragtime and bright tomorrows. The growing pains of the New World and the gloom and despair of WWI were left behind. The US was finding its feet as the financial powerhouse of the world, the land of opportunity where everything was possible for anyone willing to grasp it. Everyone, it seems, wanted a slice of the cake. Gripped with the excitement of stocks and shares, ordinary Americans risked their hard-earned dollars. But whether stockbroker or man in the street, corporation or country, risk can lead to ruin…

Roaring 20's America was a place of boom that led to bust

© Alamy

What were the main causes of the crash? Could it have been avoided or was it inevitable?

The 1929 Wall Street Crash was not the first case of financial mass hysteria to hit the US economy, and certainly wasn't the last. The 1920s was boom time in the USA. There was a spirit of optimism in the country and a willingness to take risks for financial reward. It became fashionable to play the stock market. People rushed to invest in the corporate giants of the modern world: General Motors, DuPont, Wright Aeronautical and Radio Corporation of America. As a result, share prices rocketed. When shares in the most popular companies became harder to come by, people began putting their money in investment trusts (ITs), today known as mutual funds, which held stock in hundreds of different companies. ITs were managed by financial experts and seemed to take a lot of the risk out of investing. The stampede to invest in ITs pushed share prices so high they soon represented a value far in excess of the total worth of their companies' assets.

This was now a 'mania' – a period when everyone, from wealthy financiers to common investors, lost touch with reality and seemed to believe that prices could keep rising forever. ITs performed extremely well on a rising market. But when the crash came, investors would discover they could perform just as spectacularly in reverse, shrinking to a fraction of their former value.

Was the crash avoidable? Probably not. Speculative manias, once they get going, gather their own momentum. Usually, the people with the power to end a mania are the ones most caught up in the frenzy.

Was there anything that made it unique from other economic disasters?

The Wall Street Crash was unique in its scale and in the

Main image source: © Alamy, © Getty Images

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Page 15

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FEAR 52 PERISHED IN LAKE MICHIGAN; FERRY IS MISSING

Wreckage Picked Up Indicates Craft Went Down With All Aboard.

Milwaukee, Wis., Oct. 24 (AP)—Hope that the car ferry Milwaukee of the Grand Trunk fleet, with 52 aboard, had weathered the 48-hour storm on Lake Michigan faded today with a report that wreckage from a boat had been picked up 10 miles off Wind Point, which is about 4 miles nor th of Racine.

Capt. C. N. Bedell of the steamer Colonel told Grand Trunk officials here that he sighted empty lifeboats, mattresses and the upper parts of a white cabin, boating in the lake off Wind Point. The upper part of the Milwaukee was painted white.

Some of the wreckage was picked up by the Colonel, but not of it carried any markings to make identification certain, Captain Bedell said.

Freighter Donaldson Safe.

Superior, Wis., Oct. 24 (AP)—The freighter Donaldson, overdue here since Tuesday night, arrived this mornig from Apostle Islands, where it had put in to await abatement of the storm which sweut the Great Lakes. The Donaldson was loaded with coal.

23 Rescued on Lake Huron.

Sault Ste. Marie, Mich., Oct. 24 (AP)—Twenty-three seamen and officers of the stranded steamer Maple Court of the Canada Steamship Lines were rescued by a Coast Guard cutter at 4:30 a.m. today from their vessel, which has been hard aground on Magnetic Reef, Cockburn Island, in Lake Huron, since 4 a.m. Sunday.

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Grundy Agrees Rates Went Up Due to His Activities as Propagandist. Favors More Lobbying to 'Carry Out Voters' Wish.'

Eagle Bureau,
Capitol Bldg.,

By HENRY SUYDAM.

Washington, Oct. 24—Joseph R. Grundy, Bristol, Pa., manufacturer who admittedly has been lobbying in the capital for several decades in the interest of a protective tariff, testified before the Senate Lobby Committee today that he raised $700,000 for President Coolidge's campaign in 1924 and that most of the money came from interests seeking higher tariffs.

He intimated that he was in favor of more lobbying for higher du-

Please Turn to Page 2.

WARDER SOUGHT TO KEEP SEA TRIP SECRET, AID SAYS

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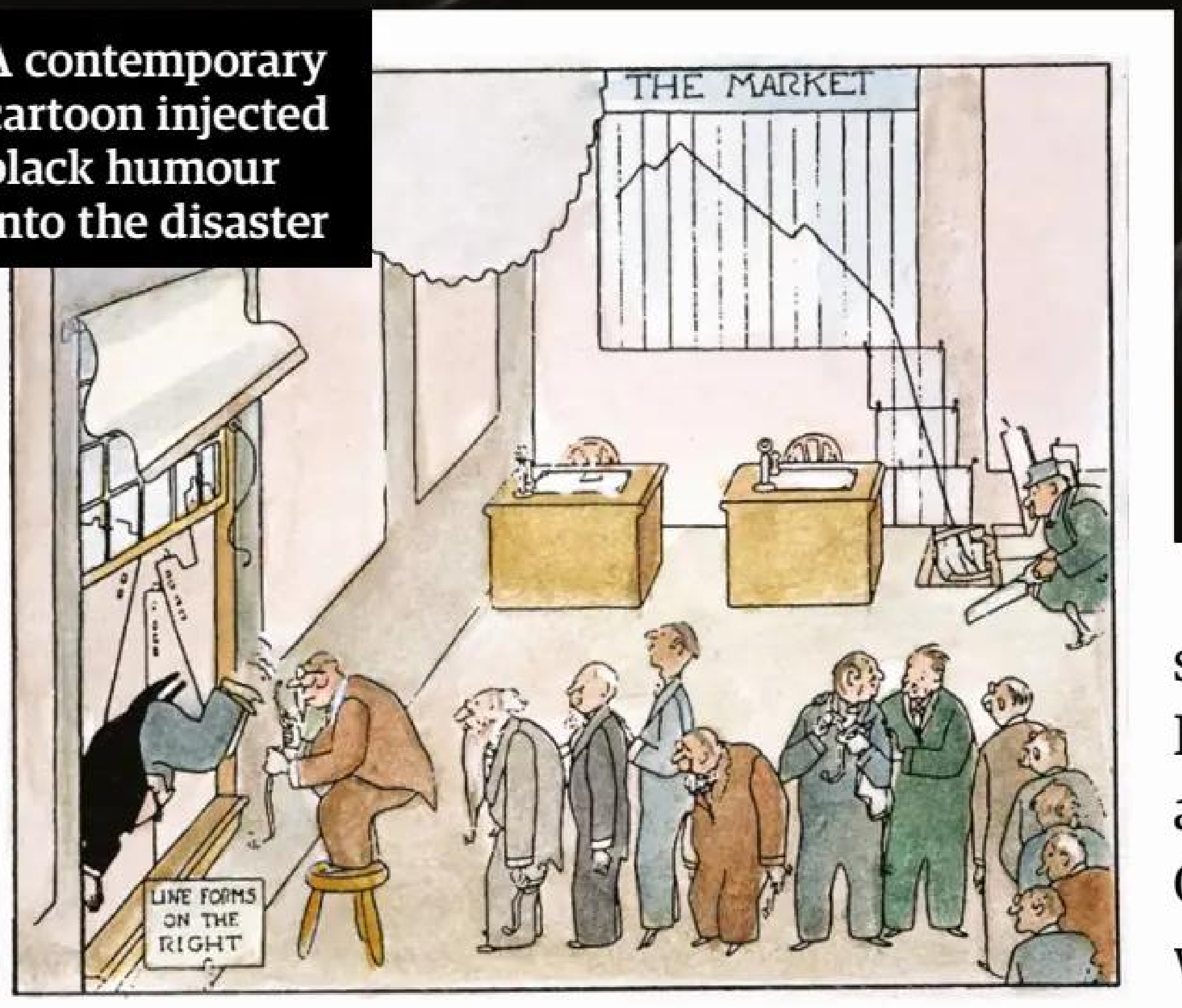
$100 WILL
BUY THIS CAR
MUST HAVE CASH
LOST ALL ON THE
STOCK MARKET

The financial collapse meant many investors lost everything


THE MARKET
LIVE FORMS ON THE RIGHT

A contemporary cartoon injected black humour into the disaster

number of people it ultimately affected. The crash occurred over three calamitous days of trading at the New York Stock Exchange on Wall Street: Thursday 24th, Monday 28th and Tuesday 29th (Black Tuesday) of October 1929, when huge numbers of people decided collectively it was time to sell.

With so many sellers there were, of course, no buyers, and share prices plummeted. Various attempts by bankers and business leaders to rally the market by buying shares failed. On Black Tuesday alone over $14 billion was wiped off the value of the stock market – more money than the US had spent on WWI. And this was just the beginning. What made the Wall Street Crash worse than any other, before or since, was the way the market kept falling, week after week, month after month. By 1932, stocks had lost nearly 90 percent of their pre-crash value.

Up to three million Americans were directly affected by the crash. Many were bankrupted, including the founder of General Motors, William Crapo Durant. Some took their own lives. An economic recession was certainly going to occur in 1930, with or without the crash, but the crash made it so much worse. With so many people having lost their savings, the consumer boom ended and the USA slid into a depression that would last a decade.

Were there any 'winners' in the crash and if so, how?

There were very few winners from the crash, either reputationally or financially. Respected opinion in the autumn of 1929 was of the view that the economy was sound and prices would keep rising. Irving Fisher, professor of Economics at Yale University, declared on 15 October: "Stock prices have reached what looks like a permanently high plateau." One lone voice of warning came from economist Roger Babson, who in September predicted: "Sooner or later a crash is coming." But he was mostly ignored.

Some canny investors made money out of the crash, including Jesse Lauriston Livermore, Albert H Wiggin and Irving Kahn. They did this by short-selling (borrowing shares of a stock, then selling them with the aim of buying them back cheaper later). Others, like Bernard Baruch, sold their stock before the crash. The winners generally kept very quiet as they saw the economic pain of the crash unfolding around the country, and later around the world.

What were the effects of the crash on the world?

The ripples caused by the Wall Street Crash were felt all around the world. During the boom years of the 1920s, American banks loaned vast amounts of money to European countries to help stimulate their economies after the devastation of World War I. When American businesses began to fail after the crash, the United States was forced to call in these loans. This had disastrous consequences for European economies. To make matters worse, the USA raised import taxes to help its own industries by making goods from abroad more expensive. European governments retaliated with similar measures. The result was a drop in world trade and huge rises in unemployment.

The Past

25 MARCH 1929

Warning Signs

Following concerns by the US Federal Reserve about a frenzy of speculation and market trading, trading hit a bump in the road as investors sold off stock in rapid succession, causing a minor crash. For a time, productivity slowed across a number of sectors. There had been a good harvest of wheat leading to a glut in the market, pushing prices down. Credit for the ordinary American had become easy to come by and individual debt was on the rise. In spite of this, signs were ignored, the market recovered and sleepwalked towards a fateful end.

24-28 OCTOBER 1929

Black Days

In September, British investor Charles Hatry was jailed for fraud and his companies suspended, reducing confidence in the markets and perhaps assisting the crash. On 24 October, 11 percent was wiped off the price of stock. Ticker tape communications were overwhelmed and too slow, leaving investors in the dark. A rescue package by major bankers was hastily put together, buying stock at inflated prices to try and stem the flow. However, by the 28th, more investors were pulling out, and the exodus of investment and decline in the markets continued.

29 OCTOBER 1929

Black Tuesday and Beyond

This was the day that billions of dollars was wiped off the value of shares, with an estimated 16 million shares being traded in a single day. To add insult to injury, the following day saw many shares with no buyers at any price. The Dow Jones Index fell over 23 percent in just these two days. Following some minor recovery, the market continued to fall. By 1932 the Dow Jones Index had declined by 89 percent. It would 1954 before the market would once again recover to achieve the highs of 1929.

The Milwaukee Leader

BILLIONS LOST IN NEW STOCK CRASH

May Punish Senator for Aiding Tariff Lobbyists

Germany was the worst hit. It had relied on American loans to rebuild its economy after the First World War and to pay reparations to the victorious nations. As the depression hit, industrial production in Germany fell by almost half. By 1933, more than six million Germans – over a third of the workforce – were unemployed. The economic crisis led to social and political unrest and the rise of extremist movements. Communists predicted the end of capitalism. Fascists tried to channel people's anger into an aggressive nationalism, blaming 'foreigners' such as Jews for the economic woes. By 1932, Germany's Nazi Party had over a million members, and they were able to use the misery of mass unemployment to win support in general elections. In January 1933, they took power in Germany. The consequences for the world would be devastating.

What did the US and the world learn from the crash?

The administration of Franklin D Roosevelt introduced some important reforms. 'Market rigging' – the manipulation of share prices for personal profit – was outlawed. Reforms were made to the banking system, which had been weakened by the 1929 crash. A law was passed to safeguard those with small savings against losing all their money if the banks closed. This ensured banks did not speculate in their own stock, as they had done irresponsibly in 1929. In 1934, the Securities and Exchange Commission was established to police the stock market.

The crash put an end to the fashion for share trading. For nearly 30 years, nearly all but the wealthiest Americans stopped speculating on the stock market. But as the years went by, memories faded. New generations, unscarred by the crash, began to come into the market. There were further big crashes in 1987 and 2008, but this time the authorities acted decisively to lend cash where needed, buy up stocks and ring-fence banks to protect depositors, preventing a depression.

What would the US have looked like socially, economically and politically if the crash had been averted?

There would have been no banking crisis, no large-scale bankruptcies and business closures. The world was certainly heading for an economic downturn in any case, but it would have been far milder. Herbert Hoover would probably have won a second term as president. The New Deal reforms of Roosevelt would not have been enacted, including the great public works projects of the 1930s and the beginnings of a welfare state. In other words, the USA would have continued with the same small-state, conservative, laissez-faire policies of the 1920s. The country would have been a lot wealthier as a whole, but the gap between rich and poor would have been a great deal wider.

It's conceivable that WWII wouldn't have happened, with all its social impacts – for example, women and African Americans entering the workplace in big numbers and the huge rise in Mexican immigration to make up the shortfall of farmers. Without these developments, it's possible that the dramatic social changes of the 1960s, like the civil rights movement, women's liberation and the War on Poverty, would not have happened, or happened differently. The biggest legacy of the crash is probably the idea that the government should play an active role in addressing people's economic and social problems.

The crash would herald the Great Depression and immense hardship

The Possibility

1929 ONWARDS

Same Old Country

Without the Wall Street Crash, there may not have been a wake-up call for America and the world. President Hoover would have pursued his policies of non-intervention by government, leaving the free market to develop, but at the expense of the less well off. Social reform would have been reduced to a snail's pace, especially if he had achieved a second term, with such blinkered thinking being so embedded that protection of ordinary Americans, many of whom had suffered in the crash, would be set back decades.

1933

No Nazi Foothold

Surviving on loans from America to rebuild after WWI, the crash was disastrous for Germany's economy. Economic and social chaos ensued, inflation spiralled out of control, and many Germans looked for something, or someone, to save them. Without such turmoil brought about by the crash, and continued stability to the national debt, there would possibly be no opportunity for the Nazis to exploit and no route to power. With no Nazi Germany, world history would look very different.

1940S ONWARDS

In a World of Its Own

With possible uninterrupted financial growth by the US, Europe was still in decline as a major world player. With potentially no WWII, there would be no drain on the US economy. The Soviet Union, without the nationalistic focus of war and defence of its homeland, may have isolated itself more in its own ideology. The growth of competition with the USA may have been muted, unable to keep up with American wealth to develop new technologies and scientific breakthroughs in weapons, and eventually space. Only one superpower would dominate the world.

All images: © Alamy

What if...

Prohibition had stayed in place?

Would the United States have seen an escalation in organised crime and cemented the Great Depression further?

INTERVIEWS WITH... DR JACK BLOCKER

Jack Blocker is professor of History Emeritus at Huron University College, an affiliated college of the University of Western Ontario, Canada. He has authored and edited six books on the history of alcohol use and temperance reform, most notably on *Alcohol and Temperance in Modern History: An International Encyclopedia (2003)*. In 2020 he published *A Little More Freedom*, which examines African-American life in urban Midwest.

DR DEBORAH TONER

Dr Deborah Toner is a lecturer in Modern History at the University of Leicester, UK. Her research and teaching interests focus on the social and cultural history of alcohol in Mexico and the United States. She also convenes the Warwick Drinking Studies Network, a scholarly forum for the exploration of historical and contemporary debates surrounding alcohol and its place in society.

What would have happened if Prohibition hadn't been repealed in 1933?

Jack Blocker: It's hard to imagine enforcement of national Prohibition improving and it's easy to imagine it deteriorating if Prohibition had remained in place. The problem was the division of authority between the states and the federal government that was mandated by the 18th Amendment. That caused problems during the Twenties because some states devoted few resources to enforcement, leaving the whole burden on the federal government, which itself was not adequately funded to do the job of enforcement. As a result, enforcement against Prohibition was never carried out to the level necessary to provide full compliance with the Volstead Act. It's extremely unlikely that things would have gotten any better in the Thirties because both the states and the federal government were hard-pressed for revenues [due to the Great Depression of 1929]. So it's quite likely that enforcement would have been cut back.

Would rates of organised crime have increased?

Deborah Toner: In that kind of scenario it's very difficult to imagine how organised crime could have been reined in. This is where most people dwell on one of the key problems of Prohibition, this explosion in organised crime growing out of networks that had existed for at least 40 to 50 years before Prohibition came into effect. They really expanded rapidly because of the huge new economic opportunities that Prohibition created. And so one might have seen a escalation of organised crime and associated violent crime with gang warfare that we now see between the drug-dealing organisations in the US and elsewhere. It's quite possible that if the hardline approach [by the authorities] to Prohibition had remained, there could have been a massive escalation in organised crime. The continuation would have supported the development of super-organised crime gangs, the kind of cartels that we see in the drug business, across these two illegal industries [drugs and alcohol].

Is it likely the law would not have survived this increase in crime?

Blocker: Anybody transporting, selling, manufacturing or importing liquor was by definition a criminal, but they might not have been part of a criminal organisation. In other words, the deterioration of enforcement might have opened up a lot of space for ordinary citizens to make their own booze and pass it back and forth among friends. The decline in enforcement might also have reduced one of the real problems in public perception of Prohibition, in that when enforcement did take place it was often perceived as unfair when gun battles broke out in the streets between Prohibition agents and bootleggers. If enforcement was cut back that could have declined, which would have meant that one of the more visible problems as far as the public saw them would have been reduced. US citizens might have said: "Why not leave the law in the books because it's not having much effect, we're able to obtain liquor and the gun battles in the streets aren't taking place." So the law might have survived, in spite of or perhaps because of deterioration of enforcement.

Could Prohibition have been modified in some form?

Toner: My view is that the only way Prohibition could have survived, so that it could have avoided being repealed, was if the Prohibition camp, or the 'dry' lobby as they're often referred, accepted some modifications to the way Prohibition was being enforced through the Volstead Act. If that had happened and Prohibition had remained in a more revised format then actually a lot of the aims of Prohibition would have been achieved. For instance, with that change a lot more resources would have been diverted towards cracking down on the higher-level organised crime led by mobsters like Al Capone and so on.

Blocker: One of the proposals made consistently through the Twenties was to modify Prohibition to allow consumption of beer and light wines. If that change had been made Prohibition may well have lasted quite a long time because, as

AEA
ALCOHOL ENFORCEMENT AGENCY

"It's quite possible that if the hardline approach to Prohibition had remained there could have been a massive escalation in organised crime"

If Prohibition had not been repealed it could have led to riots and running battles in the streets you know, beer and wine now make up the largest contributor of per capita alcohol consumption. It is possible to imagine an amended Prohibition continuing long after 1933.

Would that have been more successful?

Toner: If there had been a more moderate approach towards scaling back Prohibition, making it less of a burden to the average American and concentrating resources on cracking down on the highest levels of organised crime, then we might have seen a more effective management of that process. If things like beer and light wine had been legalised during the course of Prohibition, even if spirits and other high-percentage alcohol drinks had remained illegal, that really would have reduced the market that organised crime had to sell to. I strongly think that had those changes towards the legalisation, particularly of beer and wine, been taken in the Twenties, Prohibition would have continued for a very long time.

Was there a turning point where Prohibition might not have been repealed?

Blocker: The turning point probably came in the late Twenties after Herbert Hoover's election [as US president] in 1928. He created a commission to look at Prohibition, the Wickersham Commission, and if that had recommended modifying Prohibition that could well have been a turning point. But by that point the main Prohibitionist organisation, the Anti-Saloon League, was in extreme disarray, although there were a lot of people who continued to support national Prohibition, so there could have been a political firestorm had they recommended modifying it.

Toner: In the mid-to-late Twenties there were continued attempts to try to persuade the government to introduce changes to the Volstead Act so that things like beer and wine could be legalised. But members of the 'dry' lobby, particularly led by the Anti-Saloon League, completely refused to countenance any changes whatsoever, either to the Volstead Act or to the 18th Amendment. It's really that intransigence and unwillingness to compromise in any way that pushes the two camps, pro-Prohibition and pro-repeal, into completely opposite positions.

Al Capone (centre) was one of the US Government's biggest enemies during the Prohibition era

How would the economy have fared if Prohibition had remained unchanged?

Toner: It's possible that there may have been a very entrenched period of depression in the Thirties that Prohibition contributed to. From the Fifties onwards there might have been a positive effect in terms of greater worker

> "If anything, continued Prohibition would have helped to cement that [economic] depression"

How would it be different?

Real timeline

1919

18th Amendment
The 18th Amendment to the Constitution of the United States is ratified, prohibiting the production, transport and sale of alcohol. The country will go dry later that year.
16 January 1919

Enforcement of Prohibition begins
Over 1,500 federal Prohibition agents are tasked with enforcing the strict laws of the Volstead Act.
17 January 1920

Prohibition struggles
With resources stretched, the government struggles to successfully police Prohibition laws, allowing criminal alcohol gangs to grow in wealth and power.
1921-1928

Wickersham Commission
Hoover establishes the Wickersham Commission to study the effects of Prohibition and suggest changes to lower crime levels.
20 May 1929

The Great Depression
The Wall Street crash of October 1929 sends the US economy plummeting into a downturn.
October 1929

Decision on Prohibition
The Wickersham Commission must make its decision on whether Prohibition should be modified or tackled with more enforcement to combat crime.
6 January 1931

Real timeline

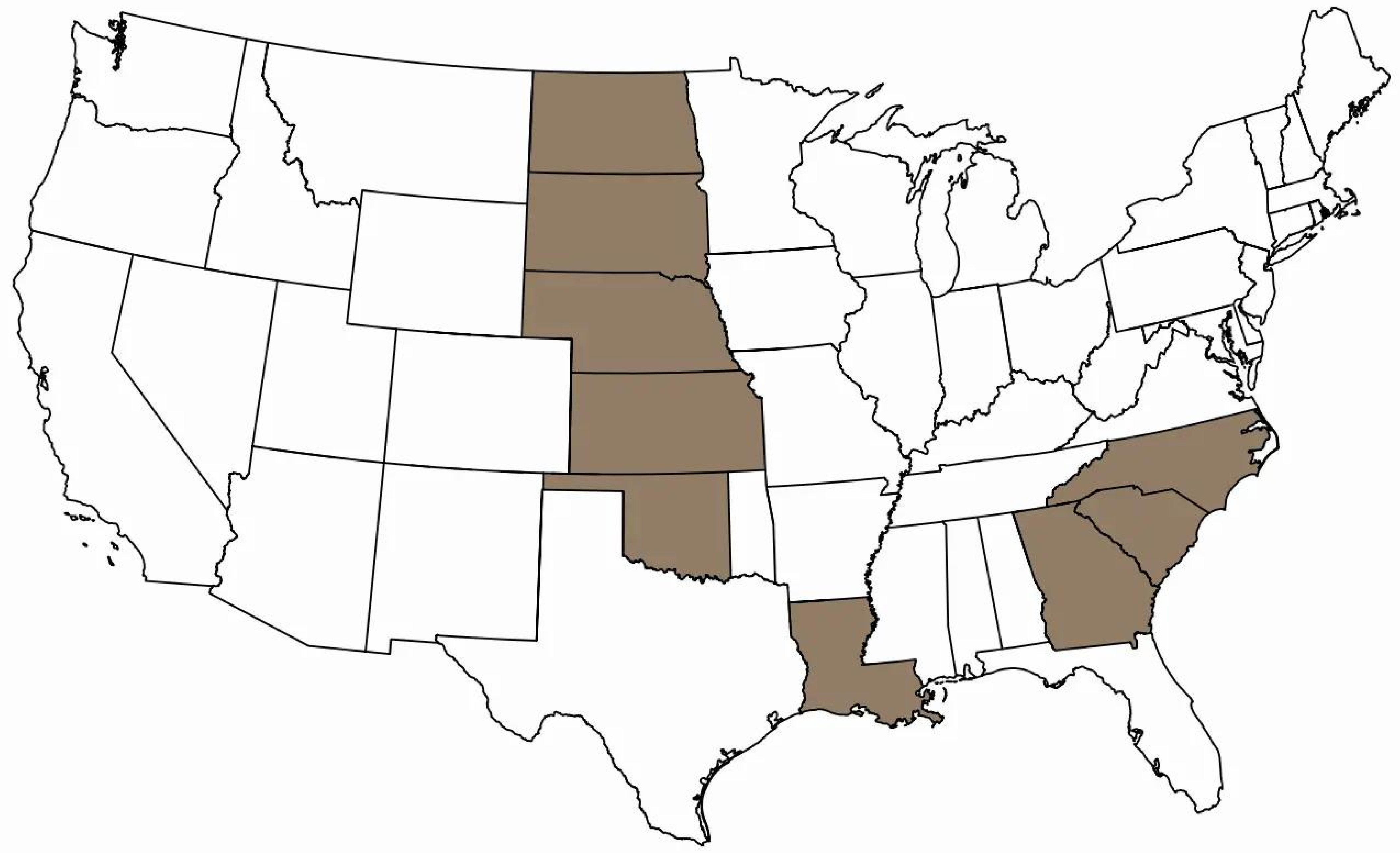
Alternate timeline

productivity, higher levels of personal savings and so on. Those were major goals for the Prohibition campaigners before it was brought into force, but that simulating effect on the economy didn't manifest itself in the Twenties to any great degree because of the knock-on effect of people going out of work, there being lower tax revenues coming in and so on. With the dire situation of the US economy in the midst of the Great Depression, if anything, continued Prohibition would have helped to cement that depression. What we have to think about is the temptation for more and more ordinary people to take a criminal path. If we are imagining an even further expansion of organised crime, then with that comes a greater need for the government to tackle organised crime. With the government having less and less resources in the midst of the Great Depression and having to spend ever-more on enforcement it doesn't spell a happy picture for the economy.

Would a lack of repeal have encouraged attempts by other countries to bring in prohibition?
Blocker: A number of other countries and territories adopted forms of Prohibition during the early 20th century. There were various international Prohibitionist organisations at work, such as the World League Against Alcoholism, and I suspect the repeal of US Prohibition represented a real body blow to efforts to internationalise that reform. Without repeal, there may well have been an instance where Prohibition became more widespread around the world.

Would continued prohibition have affected the US's involvement in World War II?
Toner: The only thing that might have prevented that was an economic situation if Prohibition had continued and affected the economy very badly. But it's widely believed that with World War II came an economic recovery because of all the additional opportunities for exporting and manufacturing goods and weaponry, and that probably still would've had that effect in the context of continued Prohibition. If anything a continued commitment to Prohibition might have enhanced the sense of the US being able to export a kind of morale-idealised society to other parts of the world, that kind of evangelising undertone to US foreign policy might have actually been heightened by continued Prohibition.

States that voted to keep Prohibition, 1933



How long might Prohibition have lasted if it was not repealed in 1933?
Toner: If a more modified form of Prohibition had been introduced, it might have been gradually lifted according to provincial interests and be replaced by regulatory systems, in effect lifting Prohibition once its job had been done. An altered form of it could have lasted for decades, and in several states even now Prohibition is still effectively in force. But I think the Sixties or Seventies would probably have been the maximum life span for Prohibition in that modified form. If Prohibition had remained unchanged in its radical original version, it's difficult to see how that would have survived for long. The mounting economic pressures, expansion of organised crime and generally being out of sync with the rest of the world on this issue would probably have brought itself to bear by the time of World War II. In terms of the economic demands of the US in the post-World War II era, it's difficult to see how that kind of radical Prohibition could have survived.

Level of enforcement increased
The Wickersham Commission recommends more extensive law enforcement to ensure compliance with Prohibition laws across the US, but it is not successful.
7 January 1931

Prohibition repealed
The 21st Amendment to the US Constitution repeals the 18th Amendment, re-legalising the distribution and consumption of alcohol.
5 December 1933

New Deal
President Roosevelt's 'New Deal' economic recovery plan allows the US to emerge from the mire of the Great Depression.
1936

World War II
With a now-prosperous economy US enters World War II, swinging the war in the Allies' favour.
1942

Minor Prohibition continues
Several states in the US continue to keep some form of Prohibition laws, allowing the distribution of certain types of alcohol.
1960

Prohibition is modified
The Wickersham Commission recommends modifying Prohibition laws to allow for lower percentage drinks like beer and light wine.
7 January 1931

Prohibition continues
Even though Prohibition laws are relaxed to allow weaker drinks, a lack of repeal makes it increasingly difficult to tackle organised gangs peddling stronger alcohol.
5 December 1933

Economy worsens
Despite Roosevelt's best efforts with his New Deal economy plan, the continued attempts to police Prohibition sees the economy get even worse.
1936

Super gangs
Super-organised crime gangs emerge, taking complete control of both alcohol and drug traffic in the country.
1938

World War II
The US enters World War II, which provides a much-needed economic boost to the ailing country and also strengthens the cause of the Prohibition camp.
1942

Prohibition repealed
Eventually Prohibition is repealed, perhaps as it has fulfilled its goals or because it cannot be maintained, although some states keep their anti-alcohol laws.
1960

© Alamy, Corbis

What if...
Newly elected Roosevelt was assassinated?

Would the United States have delayed entering World War II if the President-Elect was murdered?

INTERVIEW WITH... PROFESSOR IWAN MORGAN

Iwan Morgan is Professor of US Studies at the Institute of the Americas, University College London. He specialises in modern US political history, including FDR's presidency and the New Deal.

What was happening in the run-up to the attempted assassination of Roosevelt in 1933?

The inauguration of Roosevelt took place at a much later date than we were used to in the electoral calendar. He's elected in November 1932, but instead of taking office in the third week of January, he actually doesn't take office until early March. The period between the defeat of [incumbent president Herbert Hoover] and the inauguration of FDR is usually referred to as the interregnum. The problem is that FDR was elected largely on a negative note. There's a period of uncertainty during which the depression gets much, much worse. Unemployment begins to rise again. There's a banking panic beginning. And on the eve of Roosevelt's election, it looks as if the whole financial system is going down the drain. The New York Stock Exchange and the Chicago Stock Exchange closed their doors. Banks have closed their doors in all but a handful of states and the United States is facing an economic crisis of a scale never seen before or since. Even taking into account the situation that greeted Barack Obama on his inauguration in 2009.

FDR became the 32nd president of the United States in March 1933

What happens during the assassination attempt on 15 February?

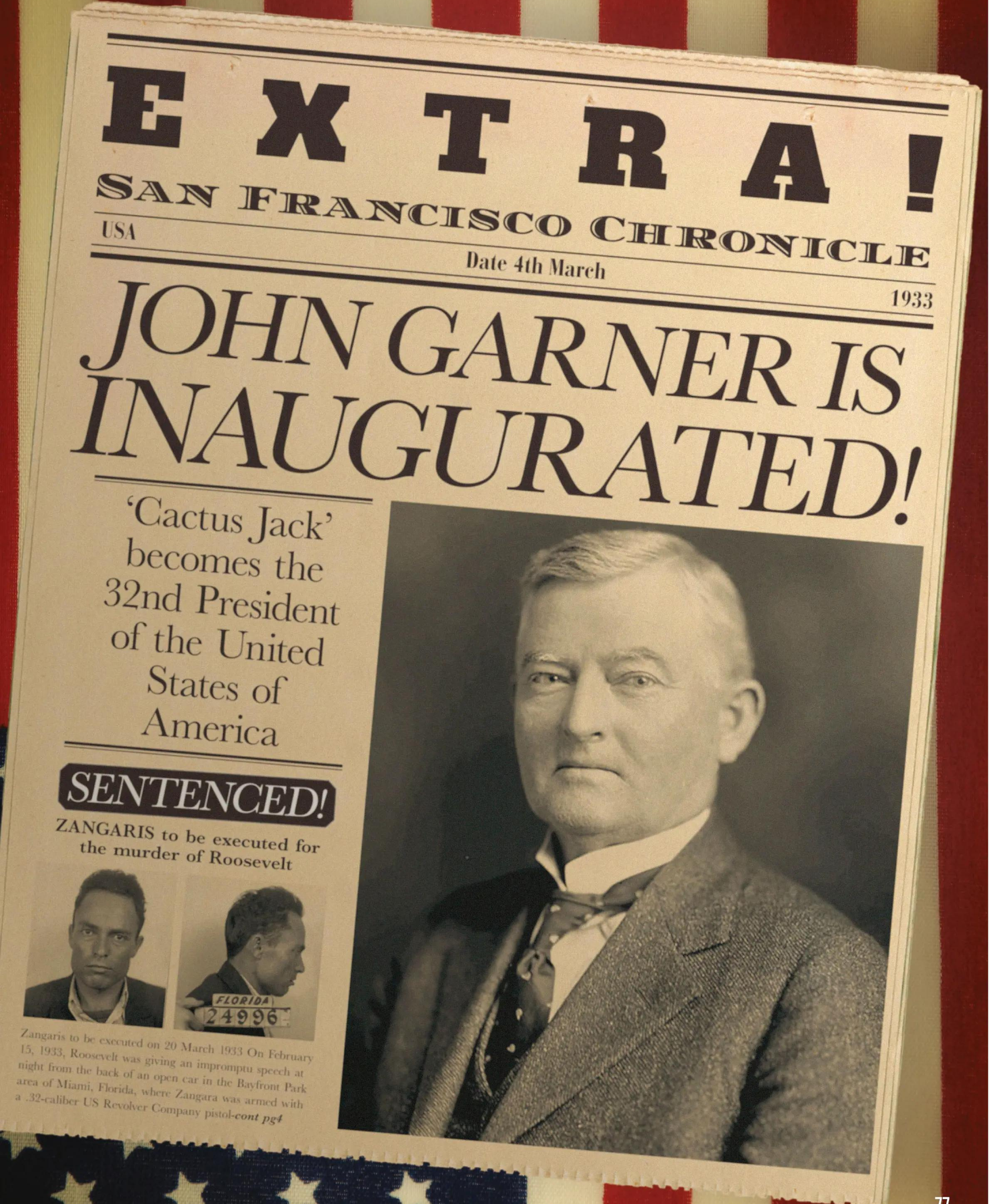
Well, FDR is on a vacation. [He] wanted to get away from the incessant questioning about what he would do. He goes on this vacation aboard the yacht of a rich friend, and it pulls into Miami. He agrees to give a few words to the public gathered at this very large park in Miami. And unbeknownst to him and everybody of course, there is an Italian anarchist with a gun in his hand waiting for FDR to be driven close to him and to make an easy target.

It was very touch and go, because this guy, [Giuseppe] Zangara, fires a total of six shots, two of which missed, because somebody jostles his arm, two of which come quite close to FDR and one of which actually hit the mayor of Chicago, Anton Cermak. If the bullets had hit Roosevelt, he would not have survived even if he hadn't been killed outright. And what happens is a remarkable sense in the country that Roosevelt has been spared for a purpose and he's very adept at playing this up, that he felt that there was a divine providence at work and the country begins a sense that perhaps this man has been saved for the purpose of getting it out of the awful economic crisis.

Did the failed assassination actually help Roosevelt?

I think that it helped him in the sense that people now looked forward to the inauguration. The inauguration address was beamed into far more homes than ever before. And [there was], of course, Roosevelt's inspirational, uplifting rhetoric and the very famous line, "We have nothing to fear but fear itself." He doesn't actually say what he's going to do in the inaugural address. But he conveys a sense that he has it planned, that he's

Interview by Jonathan O'Callaghan. **Main image** Illustration. Elements from Getty



FLORIDA
24996

EXTRA!

SAN FRANCISCO CHRONICLE

USA

Date 4th March

1933

JOHN GARNER IS INAUGURATED!

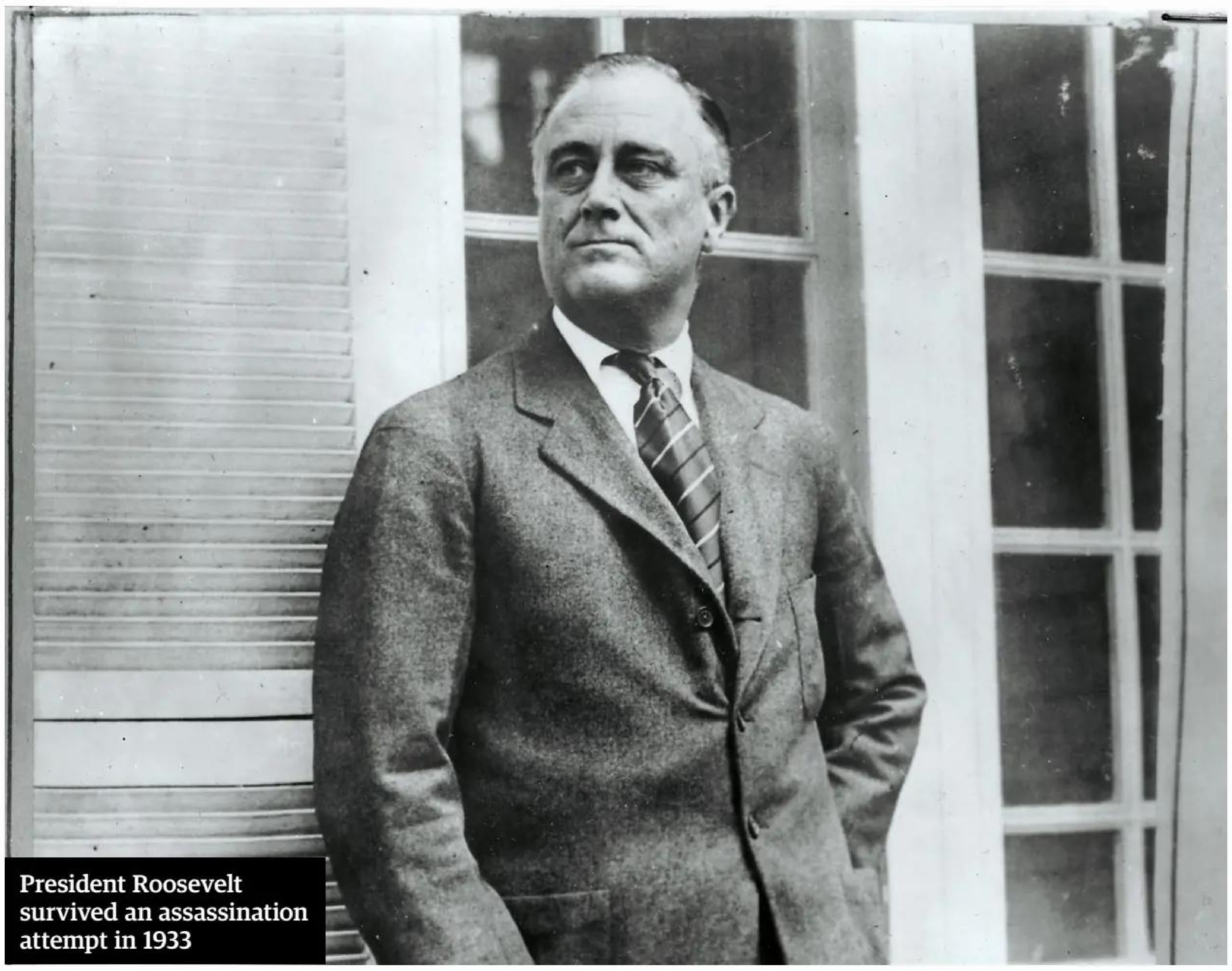
'Cactus Jack' becomes the 32nd President of the United States of America

SENTENCED!

ZANGARIS to be executed for the murder of Roosevelt

Zangaris to be executed on 20 March 1933 On February 15, 1933, Roosevelt was giving an impromptu speech at night from the back of an open car in the Bayfront Park area of Miami, Florida, where Zangara was armed with a .32-caliber US Revolver Company pistol-***cont pg4***

Cermak is assisted after being wounded after the assassination attempt on FDR



President Roosevelt survived an assassination attempt in 1933

America may have entered the war later had FDR been assassinated

going to be dynamic, he's not going to allow the depression to close in on the United States for much longer.

How would you summarise Roosevelt's four-term presidency from 1933 to 1945?

Well first Roosevelt enlarges the Federal government to become the key agency in dealing with societal and economic problems from his presidency onwards. From 1933 onwards, the Federal government becomes a powerful and permanent presence in the lives of American people and Roosevelt's New Deal is responsible for that. The New Deal creates a welfare state. Secondly, he greatly enlarges the office of the presidency. From this point on, the presidency is the focal point for politics and government in the nation. Thirdly, because of what the New Deal did, because of the groups it helped, it creates a new Democratic party. Up until 1932 the party is largely dominated by white southerners with a small offshoot of urban machines in the northern cities. But thanks to the New Deal, by 1936 the Democrats have a majority coalition and in addition to the white south it now can rely on the support of labour, urban voters, ethnic voters, women, and African Americans. So, that New Deal Coalition of voters, or Roosevelt Coalition as it is sometimes called, keeps the Democrats the majority party in the United States in presidential elections until 1968. The collapse of the New Deal Coalition, really from the late 1960s to the early 1980s is the making of the age of polarization that we have today, where two highly competitive parties are struggling for ascendancy, and becoming more extreme in their efforts to mobilize their bases as the key to electoral power.

What if FDR had been killed and never became president?

The first and most obvious consequence would have been that FDR's vice-presidential nominee, running mate John Nance Garner, would have become president. [FDR] cut a deal with Garner, who is a conservative Texan. Had he become president, Garner would have almost certainly focused on getting the agricultural sector of the economy up and running. This was the primary southern concern and they were willing to use the powers of government to do that. But how much further Garner would have gone is questionable. He would almost certainly have taken action to prop up the banking system that was on the verge of collapse and that would've been the second thing. He would've gone along with the banking policies and the farm recovery policies that FDR eventually pursued under the New Deal. But he would have been very reluctant to do much in support of industrial recovery, legitimisation of trade union rights, and significant expansion of relief provisions for the unemployed, which the New Deal made core to its goals.

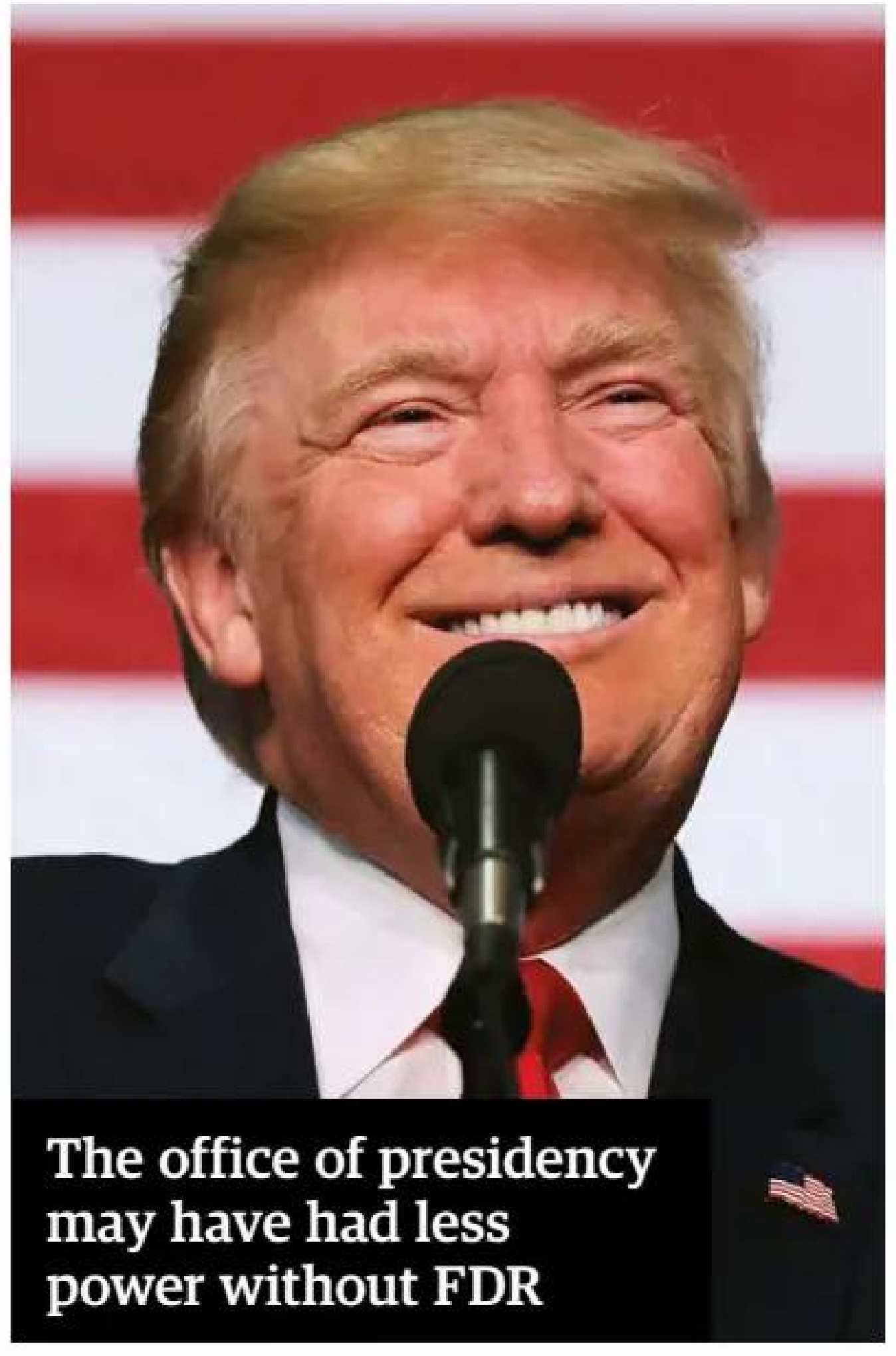
> "Roosevelt has been spared for a purpose and he's very adept at playing this up"

Without Roosevelt, would we still have seen a New Deal?

I think, personally, that had Roosevelt been assassinated in Miami on that evening in February, 1933, there would not have been the New Deal that we recognise today. There would have been a limited federal intervention in the economy that would have focused primarily on restoring the continence of the banking system, putting the agricultural economy to right, and some small amount of federal relief. There would've been nothing on the scale of the intervention of the New Deal.

Images Getty and Alamy

FDR's New Deal pulled America out of the Great Depression



The office of presidency may have had less power without FDR

How divided would America be without the Roosevelt Coalition?
We would have entered a period in which there would have been close competition between the Republicans and the Democrats. The Republicans would probably have reverted back to their anti big government stance. The Democrats would have been a very modest big government party and I don't think there would have been the kind of electoral history that we saw.

Would America still have entered World War II in 1940?
I think without Roosevelt in the white house in the 1930s it would have been difficult for the United States to have moved, however slowly, toward an internationalist stance. In winning re-election in 1940 for an unprecedented third term, Roosevelt now has the legitimacy. He doesn't have to face the electorate again for four years and he begins to move very quickly after that election to give aid to Britain. So I think we'd be talking about the different historical circumstances with regard to what the United States did in the Second World War. Sooner or later, of course, most people believe that the United States would have had to intervene, because it could not tolerate a situation of total German domination of continental Europe, and total Japanese domination of Pacific Asia. Things might have happened later, but the history of the period of 1939 to, say, 1942 would have been significantly different.

What else might have changed?
I don't think the presidency would have become such a strong institution in the way that it did. Up until the 1930s there had only been a handful of strong presidents. Presidents tended to defer to Congress. And what we have under Roosevelt is the president emerging as a truly national leader exploiting the reality that it alone represents the nation and the United States, as opposed to these state and district representation of Congress. As problems become more national, the presidency rises. I'm sure a strong presidency would have eventually come into being, but it comes into being much earlier [with Roosevelt].

WHO WAS JOHN GARNER?

John Nance Garner III was the vice president to Franklin D Roosevelt for his first two terms in office. He had originally been a challenger to Roosevelt for the Democratic nomination in 1932 until he struck a deal to be VP that helped break the deadlock at that year's Democratic National Convention. Garner was originally from Texas and worked as a lawyer before becoming a county judge and working his way up the political ladder. He was only the second person to serve as both speaker of the house and vice president after Schuyler Colfax. In 1940 Garner challenged Roosevelt for the Democratic presidential nomination once again, only to lose again and see FDR head to the Oval Office for a historic third term. Garner was replaced in that election by Henry Wallace, a former Republican.

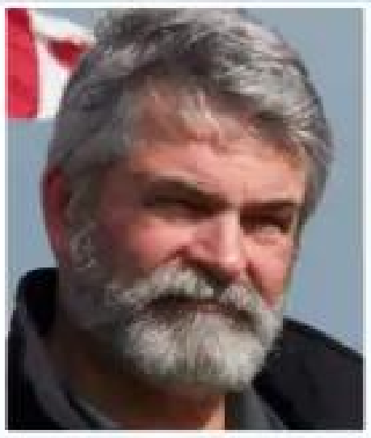
Despite retiring from public life in 1941, Garner remained a confidant of Democratic politicians in the years that followed

What if…

The Allies had lost the Battle of the Atlantic?

Britain would have been standing alone in Europe following the Allies' defeat

INTERVIEW WITH… MARC MILNER



Marc Milner is Professor of History and Director of the Gregg Centre for the Study of War and Society at the University of New Brunswick, Canada. He has published extensively on the Battle of the Atlantic and the history of the Royal Canadian Navy. A contributor to the official histories of both the RCN and the RCAF in World War II, Milner's book, *Battle Of The Atlantic*, won the CP Stacey Prize for the best book on military history in Canada in 2004. Other recent works have focused on the Normandy campaign, including *Stopping The Panzers: The Untold Story Of D-Day*, which won the US Commission on Military History's 'James Collins Book Prize' for 2014-15.

What if the Allies had lost the Battle of the Atlantic?
Britain would not have been able to carry on its war effort for very long. In 1939, Britain was dependent for at least half of its food imported from overseas, so it would have been in a very serious situation in this regard. Also, Britain's economy in 1939-40 is pretty much export-based, so to survive economically it needed to import raw material and export finished goods. It would have been virtually impossible for Britain to survive if it had not been able to use the sea. The Germans reached the French coast in the summer, so Britain would have that year's harvest.

If the Germans had put the squeeze on Britain in the winter of 1940-41, which they tried to do, I think it would have been just a matter of weeks, perhaps months, before the British government would have had to make a decision about accommodating German requests. I don't see a great surge of Germans coming across the English Channel, at least not initially, because the Germans could not have launched an invasion at the same time they were trying to do an effective blockade of Britain. The big question for the British would have been, apart from accommodating Hitler's wishes and succumbing to the pressure, the extent to which it would have been an occupied country. That would certainly have been an interesting situation.

How would it have been possible for the Germans to have won the war in the Atlantic?
Most people tell me that if the Germans had had 300 U-boats in 1939 they would have won the Battle of the Atlantic. My response is always that if the Germans had had 300 U-boats, the Brits would have had 250 destroyers, sloops and frigates. You can't change one variable and expect the others to remain unchanged. The Brits built for the threat – Germany's surface fleet. The rest could be – and was – improvised in a time of crisis. Simply put: the Germans could never have won the Battle of the Atlantic, but Britain could have lost it.

The greatest threat to imports in 1940-41 was the bombing and closure of key British ports and that's a Luftwaffe responsibility, nothing to do with the Kriegsmarine. Many historians make a facile and erroneous link between import decline and sinkings at sea in this period, but it's just not that simple. The Germans did not have the power in 1940-41 to inflict a knockout blow at sea. 'Death by a thousand cuts' was a more plausible scenario, but even that could not be done fast enough to ensure the death of the victim. The Germans are really the engine of the Atlantic War because if the Germans don't do anything, the Allies win. It is just that simple.

So if Germany were to have won the war in the Atlantic, it would have been in the winter of 1941 when Britain was standing alone in Europe?
Yes. Someone said that Britain had 500 million people around the world backing it up, but it really is the little Dutch boy with his finger in the dyke in the winter of 1941. That's the only moment when the Germans have a clear, measurable, obtainable objective in the Atlantic War – and that is to blockade Britain and force it to surrender. But the problem for the Germans is that they don't have the resources to do it. One of the biggest impacts on British imports in the winter of 1940-41 is the Blitz. Most people don't associate that with the Battle of the Atlantic, but the bombing and closure of ports along the English south and east coasts promptly cuts into British imports far more than anything that is done at sea because all of a sudden the major import harbours are closed and they have to reorient longshoremen and rolling stock and

What if Nazi Germany had won the Battle of the Atlantic and invaded Britain?

© Ian Hinley

Allied tanker Dixie Arrow torpedoed by U-71 in 1942

railways and the handling gear to the West Country ports, and that takes almost a year to do. The net result is a sharp decline in imports to Britain – they just don't have the port handling capability. But Germany does not have enough submarines. In January 1941 there are only eight German submarines at sea that are operational. You can't win the Battle of the Atlantic with eight submarines. The Germans pushed out as many surface vessels as they possibly could.

It is a very dangerous period for Britain in the winter of 1941 because Scharnhorst and Gneisenau, the two big battlecruisers, are loose in the North Atlantic. [Admiral] Hipper and Admiral Scheer are out in the North Atlantic. There are long-range Condors and Blohm & Voss flying-boats doing patrols. Some of the Condors are attacking shipping at sea, particularly in the east Atlantic. The Germans are beginning to use U-boat wolf packs and achieve some dramatic successes. But it's never quite enough. They spent the winter of 1941 pulling the lion's tail and tweaking its ears, but when the fair weather of spring comes in April and May and they send Bismarck out, it is a totally changed operational environment.

If Britain had succumbed, could America have found another staging post for its entrance into the war in Europe?

Yes. In 1942 the Allies invade French North Africa, and the landings along the Moroccan coast are staged directly from the US eastern seaboard as part of Operation Torch. So the way back into Europe would have been, in some ways, the way that NATO subsequently planned to get back into Europe should Western Europe and Great Britain fall to the Soviet Union. That is to work their way through North Africa and then eventually through the Iberian Peninsula.

Presumably, though, without Britain as an ally, America might not have declared war on Germany in December 1941?

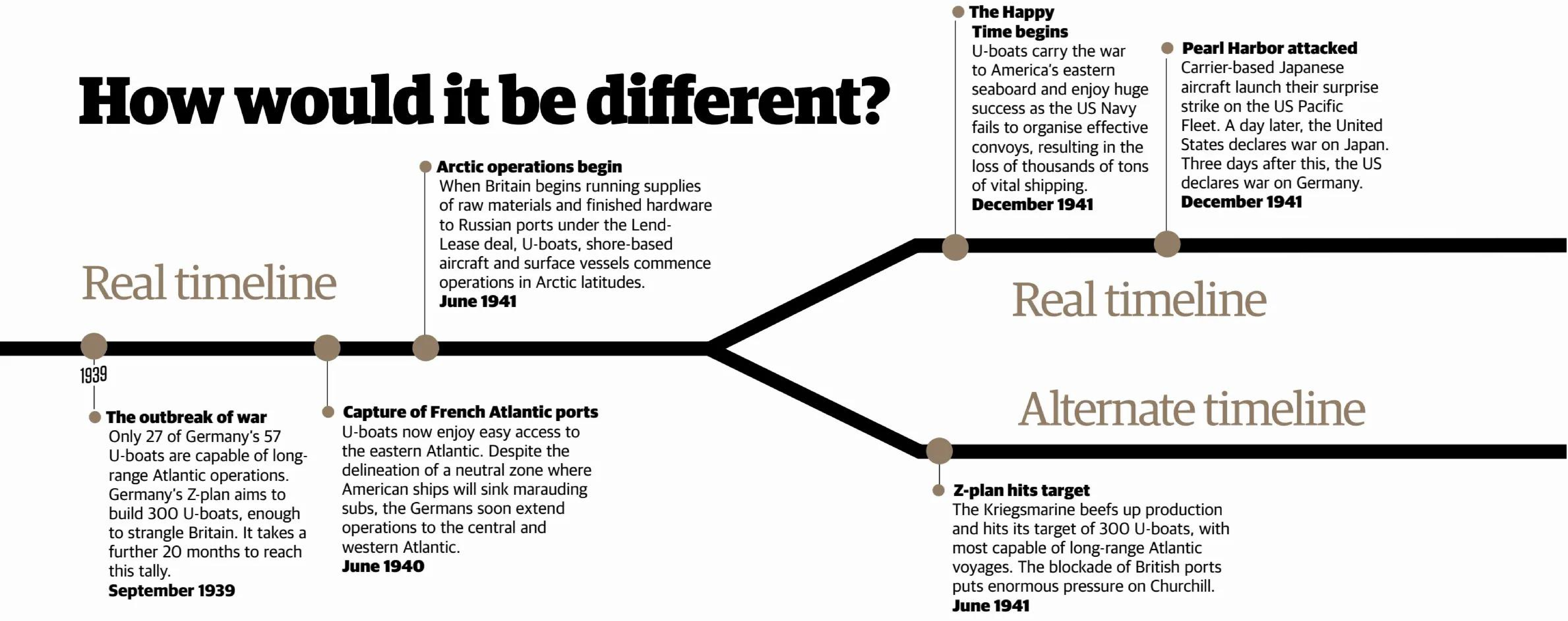
From what we know of the Americans in 1939-41, it is not clear whether they might have made an accommodation with the new regime in Europe and lived with it. America had not begun to mobilise, seriously, by the summer of 1941. It was still building up its fleet and the infrastructure for the huge army that would appear in Europe in 1944. It is just not in place at this time, so I think America would have had to make a serious decision. My best guess – and it can be no more than that – is that they would have made an accommodation with Nazi Europe and made every effort to make sure that Britain was as far as they got [on their westward expansion].

If Britain had fallen, do you think Churchill would have been able to continue fighting from bases

> "The question becomes, does Britain capitulate, or does the British government go into exile and continue the war from the Empire and the Commonwealth?"

© Alamy and Getty

How would it be different?



The outbreak of war
Only 27 of Germany's 57 U-boats are capable of long-range Atlantic operations. Germany's Z-plan aims to build 300 U-boats, enough to strangle Britain. It takes a further 20 months to reach this tally.
September 1939

Capture of French Atlantic ports
U-boats now enjoy easy access to the eastern Atlantic. Despite the delineation of a neutral zone where American ships will sink marauding subs, the Germans soon extend operations to the central and western Atlantic.
June 1940

Arctic operations begin
When Britain begins running supplies of raw materials and finished hardware to Russian ports under the Lend-Lease deal, U-boats, shore-based aircraft and surface vessels commence operations in Arctic latitudes.
June 1941

The Happy Time begins
U-boats carry the war to America's eastern seaboard and enjoy huge success as the US Navy fails to organise effective convoys, resulting in the loss of thousands of tons of vital shipping.
December 1941

Pearl Harbor attacked
Carrier-based Japanese aircraft launch their surprise strike on the US Pacific Fleet. A day later, the United States declares war on Japan. Three days after this, the US declares war on Germany.
December 1941

Z-plan hits target
The Kriegsmarine beefs up production and hits its target of 300 U-boats, with most capable of long-range Atlantic voyages. The blockade of British ports puts enormous pressure on Churchill.
June 1941

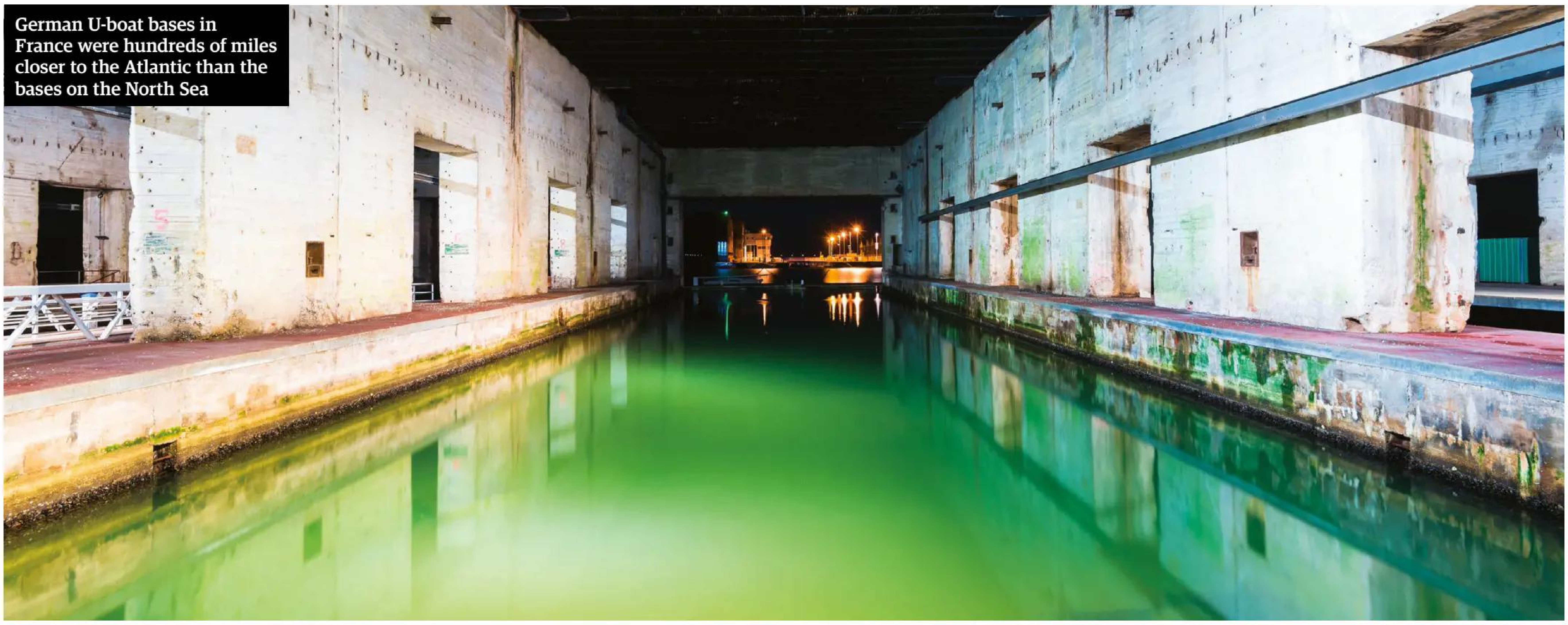
in Canada and other parts of the Empire and Commonwealth?

Canada declared war against Nazi Germany, not as part of the British Empire but as an independent, self-governing nation. So it is entirely conceivable that the war would have continued. There were certainly plans to move the British fleet to Canada, and ports along the Canadian east coast were surveyed to see just where the Royal Navy could shelter. So the question becomes, does Britain capitulate like the French did and make accommodation, or does the British government go into exile and continue the war from the Empire and the Commonwealth? That would also change the situation for the Americans.

If Britain had fallen in 1941, how would that have affected Russian resistance to Nazi Germany?

The assumption is that Britain would have fallen in the spring of 1941 because it is difficult to figure the scenario before or after that. And by then Brits have already signed the Lend-Lease deal and are already trans-shipping vast amounts of goods destined for Britain like American fighters, P40-Warhawks and Tomahawks, straight to Russia. Britain is also sending a large number of its tanks to Russia in the autumn of 1941. I have read recently that perhaps as much as upwards of 40 per cent of the tanks that stand between the Germans and Moscow in the first week of December 1941 were Matildas and Valentine tanks from British factories.

If that's the case, there is a very narrow window in which British production and Lend-Lease material, including Hurricane fighters, get to Russia just at the most critical moment of the German advance on Moscow. And many historians assume – though I don't know that it's a fair assumption – that had Moscow fallen, the Soviet Union would have capitulated. I am not entirely convinced of that but, if so, then the British aid to the Soviet Union in the autumn of 1941 might well have been one of the most singular, decisive things that Britain did to ensure the Allied victory in World War II.


German U-boat bases in France were hundreds of miles closer to the Atlantic than the bases on the North Sea

Stalingrad comes to an end
Arguably the single most crucial battle of the European war concludes with Germany's defeat in the ruins of Stalingrad. Thousands of German troops become POWs.
February 1943

The Longest Day
Germany is stretched to breaking point as Allied forces, including a vast American army, launch D-Day operations with the invasion of Normandy.
6 June 1944

Hitler commits suicide
The war in Europe nears its end as Hitler takes his own life in his Berlin bunker shortly before the Red Army arrives. Unconditional surrender follows a week later on 7 May.
April 1945

The US drops the bomb
World War II nears its end after a B-29 bomber drops the world's first deployed atomic bomb on Hiroshima, destroying 90 per cent of the city and instantly killing 80,000 people.
August 1945

Royal Navy moves to Canada/Ceylon
Churchill relocates the Royal Navy to Halifax in Canada, and Trincomalee in Ceylon, the only Empire-Commonwealth ports capable of handling such warships.
August 1941

Britain falls to the Reich
With food supplies dwindling and the U-boat wolf packs emerging pre-eminent in the Atlantic, the British government goes into exile to continue the war from the Empire.
November 1941

The US declines Germany deal
Roosevelt strongly considers negotiations with Nazi Germany, but pressure from Britain, Canada and Hitler's early success in Russia prompts him to enter the war in Europe.
December 1941

The Allies take North Africa
British Empire forces in Africa, supplied via the Suez Canal, have taken control of the continent. The invasion of Italy is planned.
November 1942

D-Day preparations begin in earnest
Operation Torch is no longer a requirement given Allied success in Africa. American GIs begin arriving in Morocco and Algeria in preparation for a strike at mainland Europe.
January 1943

Second Battle of Moscow
The German Sixth Army takes Stalingrad and Hitler launches a second assault on Moscow. Yet Russia still stands.
March 1943

Liberation of Great Britain
February 1944
With his forces stretched thin following defeat at Kursk, Hitler withdraws from mainland Britain in a bid to shore up his defences in France. Churchill returns to Whitehall.

D-Day launches via Iberian Peninsula
The Iberian Peninsula becomes the staging post for the Allied push into Western Europe.
June 1944

What if…
Charles Lindbergh had run for president?

Could a fascist really have run for the presidency of the United States in 1940 and won?

INTERVIEW WITH… CANDACE FLEMING

Candace Fleming is a bestselling author whose work spans many genres. She has written numerous children's books such as *Boxes For Katie* and *Muncha! Muncha! Muncha!* as well as non-fiction titles including *Presenting Buffalo Bill*. Her latest book, ***The Rise And Fall Of Charles Lindbergh***, was published in 2020.

Who was Charles Lindbergh?

Charles Lindbergh became famous in 1927 when he became the first man to fly across the Atlantic from New York to Paris. Suddenly, out of nowhere dropped this 25-year-old who was an incredibly brave pilot. And he had this crazy idea for getting across the ocean: he stripped all excess weight out of his aeroplane because the less weight the more fuel he could carry. Basically, what remained was a kite. With fuel. It was called the Spirit Of St Louis and he flew it across the Atlantic in 33½ hours. When he landed he became a worldwide hero, particularly in the US.

Folks, especially in the 1920s, were feeling disillusioned about heroes and society as a whole. Now, all of a sudden, here was this wholesome, handsome young man who didn't smoke or drink. Americans saw in him not just a hero, but almost a superman. The kidnap and murder of his two-year-son Charles Jr in 1932 added another layer to the hero. Now, not only was Lindbergh a great American hero who was wholesome, moral and upstanding, but he was now also a tragic figure. Americans love those.

MESSERSCHMIT

Lindbergh examining a Messerschmitt fighter at a factory near Munich

© Getty Image

What were his political views like up to 1940?

He had a really good mind but his politics were formed more by experience than academia. He was a staunch eugenicist through the 1930s, and he worked with a man named Dr Alexis Carrel, who wrote a book called *Man The Unknown,* which laid out his extreme views about eugenics, things like: "the white race is drowning in a sea of inferiors" and "only the elite make the progress of the masses possible". It was time with Carrel that worked to form Lindbergh's untrained mind. Lindbergh bought into all Carrel's rot.

They disparaged others who they believed threatened America's "racial strength", such as Russians, Jews, Asians and southern Europeans. Then, in the spring of 1936, Lindbergh had an opportunity to go to Hitler's Germany to take a look at the Luftwaffe. In the few weeks he was there he became infatuated with how efficient and modern it was. He believed Hitler was the best thing that could've happened to Europe, even calling Hitler a "visionary". By 1938, many people in the US and abroad suspected he was pro-Nazi.

What was Lindbergh's stance on World War II?

When he returned to the United States in 1939, he firmly believed Germany was saving Europe. He also saw it as Europe's mess and wanted the United States to stay out of it, with one exception. If the United States was going

Interview by Callum McKelvie. **Main image source:** © 2x © Getty Images, © Alamy

CARRY ON
with
RO
LT
CHARLES

The Past

1927

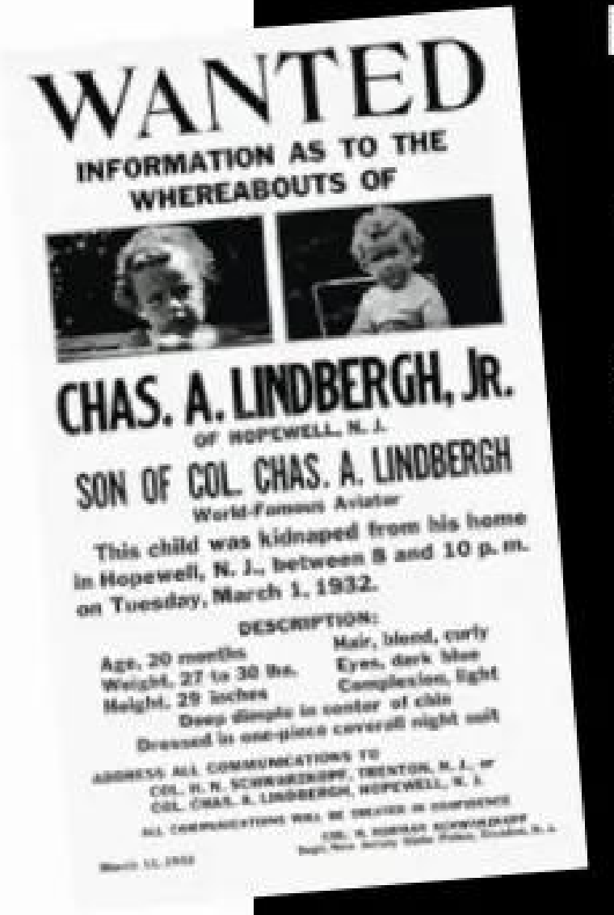
Flight Across the Atlantic

When Lindbergh left college he became a 'barnstormer', a daredevil stunt pilot who would appear at fairs. Joining the US Army Air Corps, he graduated first in his class and became an airmail pilot. Since 1919, a contest to fly across the Atlantic had been arranged by hotel owner Raymond Orteig with a prize of $25,000 to the winner. Opting not to include a parachute and more fuel instead, Lindbergh successfully flew some 3,600 miles in 33½ hours.

1932

Lindbergh Kidnapping

At 9pm on 1 March 1932, two-year-old Charles Lindbergh Jr was taken from the family home. An hour later his disappearance was discovered and a ransom note for $50,000 was found. A massive police investigation was launched and on 9 March Dr John F Condon (a retired school principal) began to work as a go-between on behalf of the Lindberghs. For months Condon negotiated and delivered payments to the kidnapper until on 2 April he was informed that the child could be found on a boat in Massachusetts. The child was not there and on 12 May his partially decomposed body was discovered, having been killed by a blow to the skull two months earlier. The kidnapper would later be caught and executed by electric chair in 1936.



WANTED

INFORMATION AS TO THE WHEREABOUTS OF

CHAS. A. LINDBERGH, JR.

OF HOPEWELL, N. J.

SON OF COL. CHAS. A. LINDBERGH

World-Famous Aviator

This child was kidnaped from his home in Hopewell, N. J., between 8 and 10 p. m. on Tuesday, March 1, 1932.

DESCRIPTION:

Age, 20 months
Weight, 27 to 30 lbs.
Height, 29 inches
Hair, blond, curly
Eyes, dark blue
Complexion, light
Deep dimple in center of chin
Dressed in one-piece coverall night suit

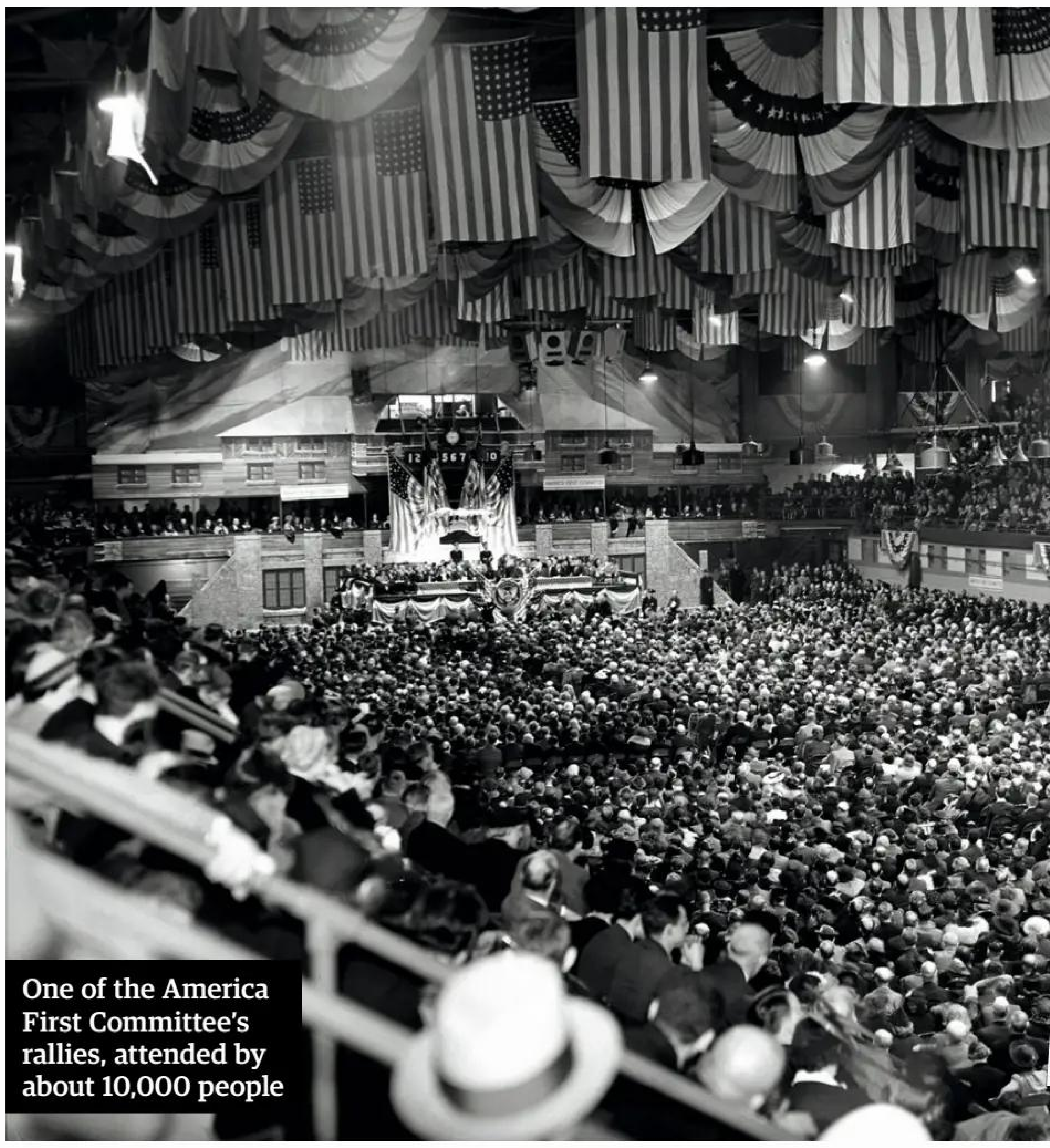
ADDRESS ALL COMMUNICATIONS TO
COL. H. N. SCHWARZKOPF, TRENTON, N. J., or
COL. CHAS. A. LINDBERGH, HOPEWELL, N. J.

ALL COMMUNICATIONS WILL BE TREATED IN CONFIDENCE

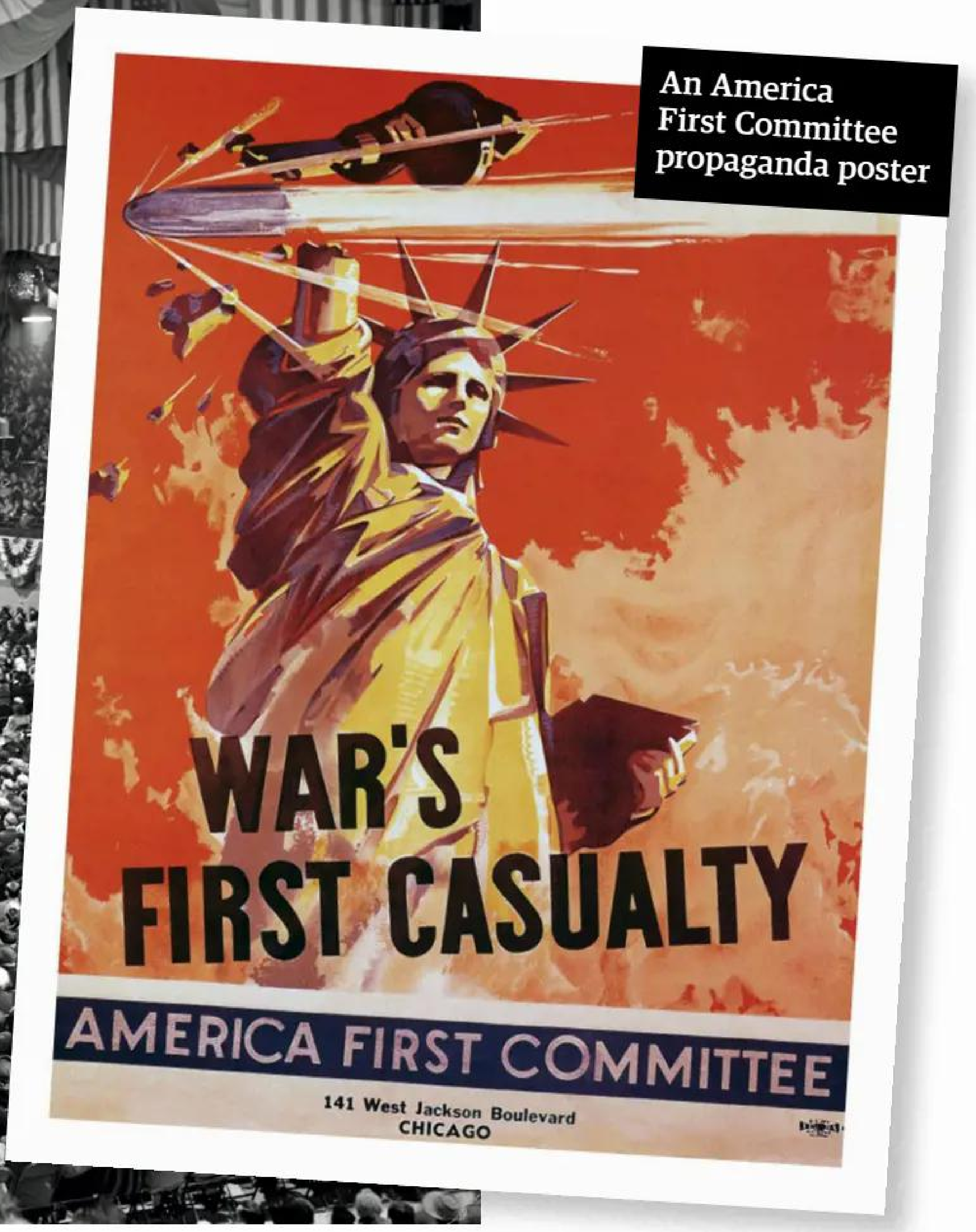
1940

Roosevelt's Victory

Franklin Delano Roosevelt's decision to seek a third term in office was one of the most important presidential victories in American history. Defying the two-term tradition set by George Washington, Roosevelt ran against the Republican candidate Wendell Willkie, who was opposed to American intervention in the war. Roosevelt won comfortably with 54.8% of the popular vote and 84.5% of the electoral college.



One of the America First Committee's rallies, attended by about 10,000 people



An America First Committee propaganda poster

to join Germany in its fight against the Russians and Japanese (what he deemed "lesser races"), that would have been something he found acceptable. Nowadays, some think of him an isolationist. He wasn't. He was only isolationist in regard to the United States fighting *against* Nazi Germany. If, however, the US joined the war on the side Nazi Germany, that would have been a different thing. And as for the war in the Pacific, he was all about that. When America did enter the war in 1941, he was blackballed by the Roosevelt administration. He wasn't allowed to rejoin the Air Corps or enter military service at all. FDR viewed Lindbergh as a Nazi sympathizer and he wasn't allowed to fight. Eventually, he got himself to the South Pacific through other channels and flew against the Japanese. You can see, though, that he was definitely not an isolationist. Sadly, post-war his opinions didn't change. He did a lot of apologizing but he never outright said, "You know, I was wrong about eugenics. I was wrong about Hitler. My political stance was not grounded in fact." Instead, Lindbergh didn't quite understand why people were so angry about his views.

Who were the America First Committee?

America First was formed by a group of college students. They were isolationists who truly did not want to repeat of World War I. It grew rapidly and became a popular national organisation with thousands of members. America First was made up of Americans from all walks of life who wanted to keep the US out of the war in both Europe and the Pacific. But as time passed, many Americans began to see the gravity of the situation in Europe. They moved away from America First and began supporting FDR's efforts to provide Britain with the war materials she needed to defend herself from the Germans. The vacuum left by their departure was quickly filled by racists, eugenicists, Nazi sympathizers and anti-Semites. This is when Lindbergh became the face of America First.

By 1940 he'd become louder and more strident about not fighting Germany. The things that came out of his mouth were virulently anti-Semitic. He accused American Jews of forcing America into a war. He called them "others" and implied that they weren't real Americans. Wonderfully, Americans didn't stand for it. In 1941, he gave a particularly anti-Semitic speech in Des Moines, Iowa. Millions of people listened in on the radio and the next morning Americans turned on him. Men stood up in Congress and called it the most anti-American talk they'd ever heard, and newspapers called him out on their front pages. He really got publicly smacked around. Three months later, Pearl Harbor was attacked and the United States entered the war. America First was disbanded and Lindbergh disappeared from the public stage - at least for a while.

What do you think a 1940 Lindbergh presidential campaign could have looked like?

It would have been big, loud and nationalistic. He would've flown himself to his rallies because people would've loved that, and those rallies would have been big and wild, maybe a little violent. They would have been broadcast coast-to-coast on the radio so he would have reached a wide audience. What would he have stood for? Policy-wise, he would have advocated no war with Germany, but definitely with Japan. He would have promised voters a more friendly relationship with Nazi Germany. In his published journals Lindbergh writes about making way for white men and reserving nations solely for white men, so I'm sure his campaign would have reflected this. He probably would've used America First as a slogan, but changed its meaning. In Lindbergh's campaign, American First would have meant white America first, and my guess is he'd have promised policies to back up the slogan. What kind of policies? Stopping immigration into the country, building a wall along the borders (he actually did advocate this, calling them "ramparts"), building up the military,

Lindbergh (centre) gives a 'Bellamy salute' to the American flag

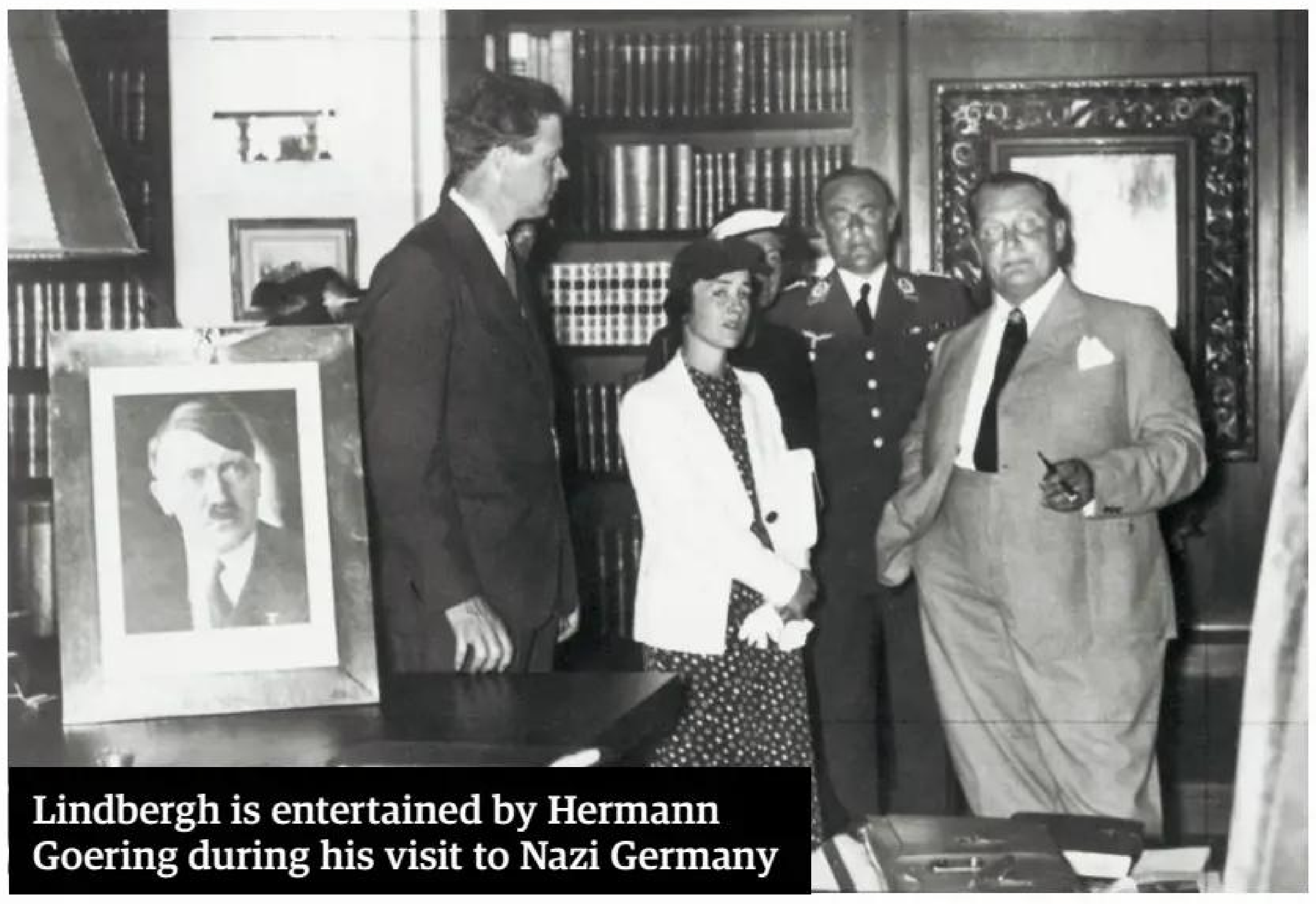
curtailing the freedom of the press, and the voluntary sterilisation of those deemed 'genetically unfit'.

Could he have won in 1940?

Americans were becoming a little less isolationist at this point. But Lindbergh was so popular – a great American hero and a superstar celebrity – and Americans love 'celebrities'. We tend to elect them without much regard for their knowledge, experience or ability. FDR, of course, was popular too, but not as popular as he had been in previous elections. Lindbergh would have been a formidable opponent. I think there's a very good chance he could have won the presidency.

What would have been the impact of Lindbergh as president?

His policies would definitely have kept America out of war in Europe, and they would have been policies that did not help Britain. If Britain had been left unaided, I think Germany would have eventually taken her. No way would a President Lindbergh have provided any sort of aid to Britain – no materials, ships or arms. Certainly not man power. He saw Britain as part of the problem and even blamed it in his America First speeches for causing the war. So he definitely would not have created policies, as FDR did, to help Britain. In fact, I think he would have formed policies that aided Germany, perhaps even that formed a trade alliance between Germany and the United States.


Lindbergh is entertained by Hermann Goering during his visit to Nazi Germany

> "There's no way a President Lindbergh would have provided war aid to Britain"

As for American Jews, I don't know. He blamed Jews for causing the problems but he did not agree with the Nazis' approach. So I don't think he would have rounded up America's Jews. Still, I doubt he would have done anything to help Europe's Jews. He would have stated that what happens in Germany is their business. A President Lindbergh could have changed the course of history in a really big way. Britain would have lost the war and Germany would've been America's economic ally. And in the United States, fascism would have taken hold. Remember, Lindbergh thought Hitler was a visionary and his wife Anne called fascism "the wave of the future". I think he would've imported some of those things he found impressive about Nazi Germany to the United States. Number-one, there would have been no free press under a Lindbergh presidency. He believed that the press sowed chaos and didn't tell the truth. He would have locked the press down and he would have clamped down on protesters too because he believed they sowed chaos. If there was one thing that Lindbergh loved about Germany it was its efficiency, regimentation and discipline. So those are all things I know for sure he would have attempted to implement had he become president.

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The Possibility

1941

Lend-Lease

It's highly unlikely that had Lindbergh run for and won the presidency in 1940 that the Lend-Lease programme would have been instigated. Following Roosevelt's victory, in 1941 Churchill appealed directly to the president requesting support, which initially led to the US providing 50 navy destroyers in return for 99-year leases on British bases in the Caribbean and Newfoundland. However, more support was requested and so Roosevelt designed a programme that allowed the US to lend or lease war supplies to any nation deemed to be "vital to the defence of the United States". Certainly, this programme would not have developed under Lindbergh and it's doubtful how long Britain would have been able to hold off Nazi Germany without this or other support.

1942

No More Free Press?

The media made Lindbergh a worldwide sensation but following his son's death, the resulting media circus had a lasting impact. The perpetrator's attorney was paid for by William Randolph Hearst's papers in return for exclusive story rights, and people sold miniature souvenir 'Lindbergh Ladders', mimicking the one the kidnapper used. This led to a deep loathing for the media within Lindbergh, and a more controlled media must have appealed to him.

1945

America First

The America First Committee disbanded only three days after Pearl Harbor. In recent years, the phrase 'America First' has taken on a new meaning and has even been used by Donald Trump. Had the organisation continued it's impossible to say how we would view that phrase today.

What if...
Japan had not struck Pearl Harbor?

©Ian Hinley

Would the US have become involved in the war and dropped the atomic bomb without Pearl Harbor?

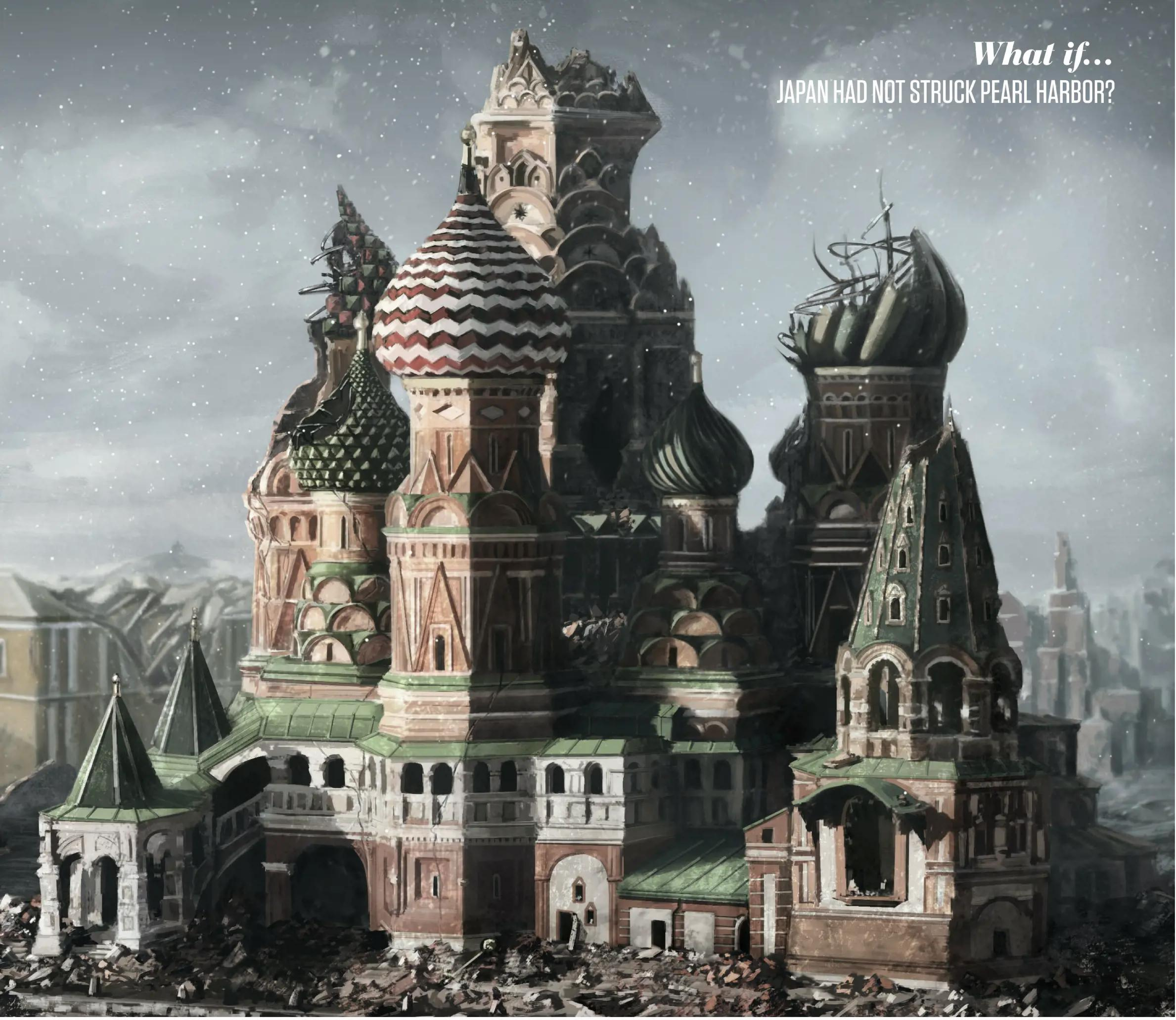
INTERVIEW WITH... PROFESSOR ROBERT CRIBB

Professor Cribb is a lecturer at ANU College of Asia and the Pacific in Canberra. His research interests have covered the changing face of Asia in the wake of World War II, in particular Indonesia and its war of independence with the Dutch after the fall of Japanese rule. His projects include the origins of massacre in Indonesia, *Puppet states revisited: Empire and Sovereign Subordination in Modern Asia* (with Li Narangoa), and *The Trial and Release of Japanese War Criminals, 1945-58* (with Sandra Wilson, Beatrice Trefalt and Dean Aszkielowicz).

What would have happened if Japan had not struck Pearl Harbor?

History would have turned out very differently. For a start, it would mean Japan was not going to expand its empire into Southeast Asia - because that is what provoked Pearl Harbor. Instead, they would have been concentrating their war efforts solely in China, which was a conflict that began in 1937. Now, China proved to be more than Japan could chew in diplomatic and military terms. Plus, the US had its own interests in China and that was what, ultimately, set them to war with Japan. The US had imposed a trade and financial embargo against Japan. As a result, Japanese financial assets in the US had been frozen and they did not have the means to buy anything from abroad. So to avoid Pearl Harbor, Japan would need to do something to accede to American demands - including pulling out from China. My guess is that the Chinese nationalist government, under Chiang Kai-shek, would have come to terms with Hideki Tojo's government in Tokyo to beat the communists. History would still need to be quite different - for instance, the Japanese would have had to maintain more control over the troops in Nanjing, and not let them massacre an entire city of people, but if things had been less brutal, we can imagine a possible peace treaty between the two countries. Chiang Kai-shek's nationalist government deeply feared Mao and so did the Japanese. So you would not have had Mao - and China would be totally changed. I think Japan would also have demanded access to Chinese markets. It would be a much more influential and powerful country after the end of the war. And, of course, you would not have had the atomic bomb.

Do you think the US would have eventually dropped an atomic bomb somewhere anyway? At the time, Eisenhower was eager to test it out. Churchill, let us not forget, was considering battling Stalin immediately after the Nazis surrendered. Perhaps Eisenhower would have used it against Stalin after the formation of the Soviet bloc in the wake of the fall of Berlin?

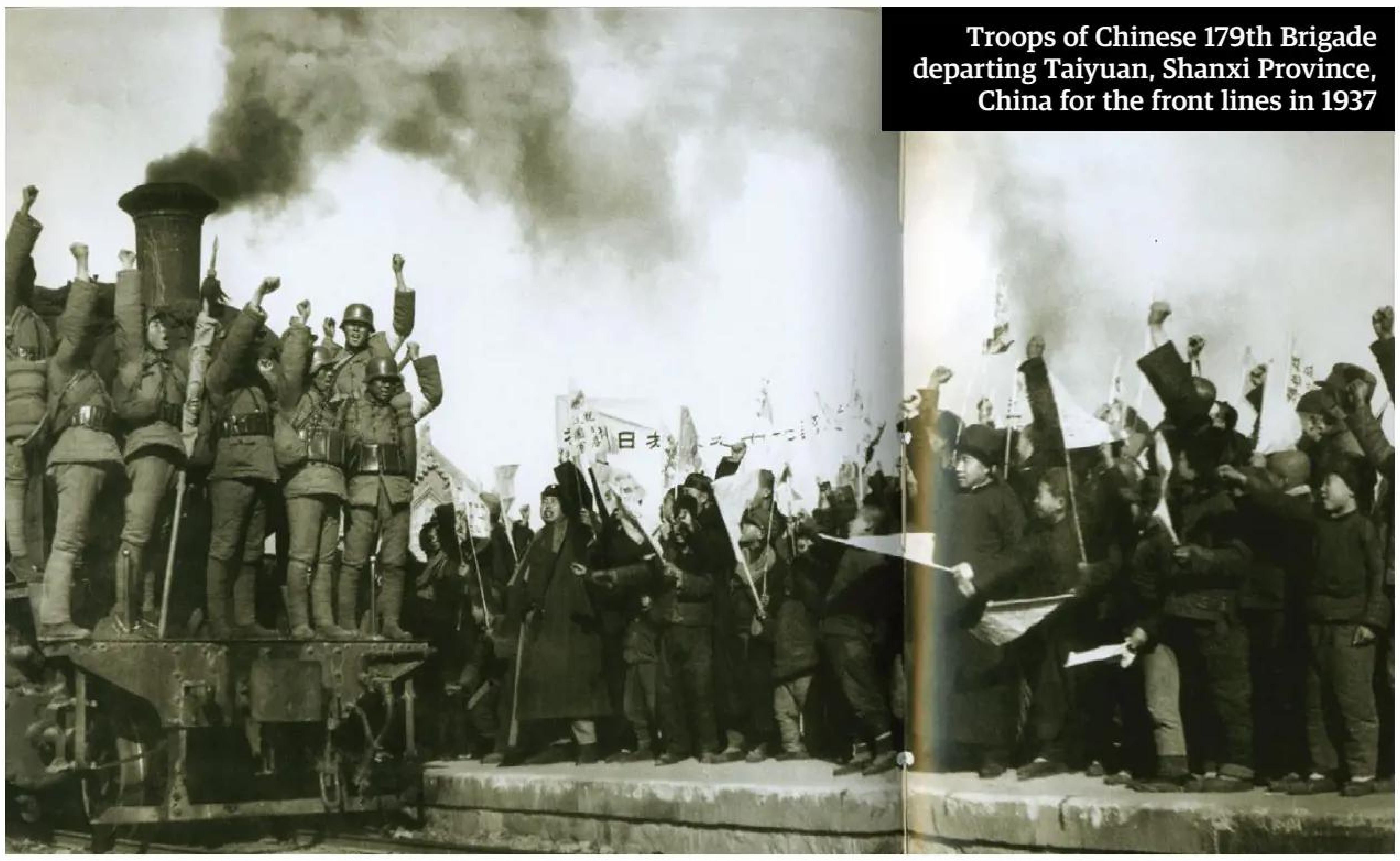


If Japan had not struck Pearl Harbor, the US may have dropped an atomic bomb on Moscow instead

I don't know if I can make a reliable judgement on that but you are correct – the Americans were thirsting to try the bomb out in a real situation and the idea that they could do it as a pre-emptive strike against the Soviet Union is certainly plausible. Japan would not be the Japan that has the resentment it has now – as the sole country to have been subjected to atomic war, but I suspect it would probably have realised that its economy could win them peace and influence rather than the use of empire and force. I do believe democracy would have won in the end.

At the time, Japan had also conquered Taiwan and Korea. Of course, Chiang Kai-shek fled from China to establish a modern Taiwan that exists, to this day, in a state of uncertainty as a broadly unrecognised 'nation' while Korea was thrust into war. If Pearl Harbor had not happened, how would this have changed?
Taiwan and Korea would eventually have become independent but under tight Japanese control. As with all empires, the Japanese one would crumble, but I suspect Taiwan and Korea would have become de facto puppet states – possibly even today. Of course, there would have been no Korean War and no split between the North and the South. And modern Taiwan would not be recognised as a rogue Chinese province by Beijing.

Hypothetically, could Japan have found a way to expand its empire into Southeast Asia without attacking Pearl Harbor?
Japan would have been very vulnerable in the rest of Southeast Asia if it had not conquered the Philippines – and that country was an American protectorate at the time so they had to hit the US. Burma was also attractive because it allowed Japan to cut off supplies to the Chinese from the UK. But if you take on Burma you are taking on the British and that means you needed to take on Malaysia and Singapore as well. Japan's strategy had to be all or nothing – they had to take all of Southeast Asia, except Thailand, who were a close



Troops of Chinese 179th Brigade departing Taiyuan, Shanxi Province, China for the front lines in 1937

CAUTION
NARROW BRIDGE

Japanese soldiers crossing the border from China into the British colony of Hong Kong in 1941

> “For Japan, Pearl Harbor was really the sideshow – they were trying to get rid of the US fleet of ships”

ally because there was nothing strategically useful about them. However, French Indochina and Dutch Indonesia were definitely going to be invaded. For Japan, Pearl Harbor was really the sideshow – they were trying to get rid of the US fleet of ships and attempting to stop supplies to the British. It was not about taking Hawaii. Their interest was in expanding to Southeast Asia and removing the Western powers.

Let’s try another hypothetical situation – Japan decides not to attack the Philippines but withdraws from China. Might the US have come to terms with loosening their trade embargo? And might Japan have retained its empire in Southeast Asia?

I think this is very unlikely. The Philippines is in the middle of the South China Sea and it was able to block Japanese supply routes so it really had to fall. But let’s imagine a situation where Japan is just battling against the European colonial powers – it wants them out of there and Tokyo wants to run things. The British were not strong at the time and they did not fight a strong war in Burma. In the end they were only able to battle the Japanese because of help from the Americans. The French, certainly, would not have been able to fight back until 1945, so Vietnam, Cambodia and Laos would have remained Japanese. In Indonesia, the Japanese invasion was transformative because it broke down Dutch power. It also increased Indonesian confidence and the movement for independence, which would have happened but they would have been fighting the Japanese. In the end, if this had transpired – and we take out the Philippines and Pearl Harbor – you have another very different history. The

How would it be different?

Real timeline

1895

Japan Invades Taiwan
Believe it or not but the road to Pearl Harbor begins here. The East Asian island is invaded by the Japanese, whose empire begins. **29 May – 21 October 1895**

Japan creates the puppet state of Manchukuo
After the 1931 invasion of Manchuria, and believing that all of Asia should be unified under the rule of Emperor Hirohito, Japan creates a new state, Manchukuo, located in inner (Chinese) Mongolia. **15 September 1932**

The outbreak of the Sino-Japanese War
Although tensions between the two countries had been high after the invasion of Manchuria and creation of Manchukuo, it is the increasing number of Japanese soldiers deployed to the mainland that finally breaks Chinese patience. When a Japanese private fails to return to his post, his squad demand to enter the walled town of Wanping. When the Chinese refuse, the Japanese respond with force. What may have been a simple disagreement was the spark that lit a brutal eight-year war. **7 July 1937**

Real timeline

Pearl Harbor is struck
A surprise attack on the naval base in Hawaii, an attempt to cripple the US Navy and halt supplies, gives the White House full public support to enter World War II – in Asia and Europe. **7 December 1941**

Alternative timeline

The outbreak of the Sino-Japanese War
Japan’s most challenging battlefront since its annexation of Taiwan and Korea many decades prior begins. However, the army – despite its reputation for brutality – attempts to win over hearts and minds. Nanjing is treated especially carefully. **7 July 1937**

Vietnam War, for instance, does not take place. The Viet Minh would have fought the Japanese and, I suspect, have won. The Japanese were not good with insurgencies. They tended to react brutally, which alienated the populations they were trying to rule - again, look at China. So I think Japan would have handed over independence in these areas, but they would have given the power to people they saw as safe. In turn the local revolutionary movements probably would have overthrown them anyway, such as Ho Chi Minh in Vietnam, and the Western colonial powers would not have returned. Malaysia, I suspect, would have fallen to the communists without the British back in power.

Would the US have become involved in the war without Pearl Harbor?
Yes, I think they would have. Roosevelt saw the Nazis as evil and he did want to get involved - but it was winning over the American public that was his problem. I think he would eventually have found a way to justify fighting in Europe. I think it is possible that the US would not have become involved in Asia, which means - as we just touched upon - you would not have the 20th century as it currently existed, right down to Pol Pot in Cambodia.

Stalin had a non-aggression pact with the Japanese. But on 9 August 1945, he also declared war on the territory. Was this too little too late? How could the Russians have influenced the outcome of all this?
It is interesting because, until Pearl Harbor, the Japanese army felt their next war was going to be with the Soviet Union. They fought them on the borders of Manchukuo and they were chastened by that experience. The outbreak of war with China was in many ways not what the Japanese expected. I think they were anticipating that Stalin would break that pact at some point.

Finally, can you think of any way that the US and Japan might not have gone to war with each other?
I think we can imagine a possible circumstance where Japan concentrates its troops in China, and sets up puppet administrations that actually function. The US, at the time, wanted free trade in Asia, and Japan was looking to create closed areas of financial interest. So let's imagine that Japan did just enough in China for the US that the White House relaxed its trade ban. In theory, that could have stopped Pearl Harbor. But the main thing that would have stopped the attack on Pearl Harbor is Germany. At the time of the attack, Germany looked as if it was winning in Europe. Japan felt it was going to be on the winning side of the war and it was part of this all-conquering fascist Axis. Six months later, though, Germany was in retreat. If that had happened I don't think Japan would have launched an attack on Pearl Harbor.

The USS Arizona burning after the Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor

Invasion of the Philippines
With their sights on the oil-rich Dutch East Indies (now Indonesia), the Japanese attack and conquer the American protectorate of the Philippines. Manila becomes one of the biggest victims of the whole of World War II. **8 December 1941**

Fall of Hong Kong
The British colony of Hong Kong surrenders to Japan. Churchill considers it a disaster as this marks the very first British territory to surrender to fascism. Burma (now Myanmar), British Borneo, Malaysia and Singapore would soon follow. **25 December 1941**

Dropping of atomic bombs in Hiroshima and Nagasaki
Eager to test out the power of nuclear warfare, President Eisenhower makes the controversial decision to engulf two of Japan's major cities in a mushroom cloud of death and radiation. The cost to civilian lives remains controversial. **6 August and 9 August 1945**

Tokyo surrenders and retreats from its colonies
The war in Asia comes to a conclusion. Japan retreats from all of its territories, but fighting between the Western powers and their 'liberated' populations continues for years, and in some cases decades. **2 September 1945**

Talks with Chiang Kai-shek
Hideki Tojo's government speaks to Chiang Kai-shek about joining forces against the communist army of Mao. Once the communists fall, Japan agrees to leave China. **28 December 1941**

Eisenhower drops a nuclear bomb on Moscow
With Stalin's forces brutally occupying Taiwan and Korea, the president's flirtation with nuclear weaponry becomes a reality. Moscow surrenders all territories. **6 August 1945**

'Comrade Godzilla'
Inspired by the bombing of Moscow, the creation of 'Comrade Godzilla' - a mutated red lizard that trashes the Russian capital - thrills viewers all across the world. **9 June 1955**

The US threatens to freeze Japanese assets
The US requests that Japan withdraw from China or else all assets will be frozen. Japan begins talks with the White House about a resolution regarding China. **26 July 1941**

Japan removes itself from Hitler's sphere of influence
With rumours that Stalin is prepared to tear up his non-aggression pact with Tokyo, Japan proclaims it is no longer aligned with fascism. **20 August 1941**

Defeat of the Chinese communists
One of the bloodiest struggles of the war comes to a close. Japan wins cautious plaudits for assisting Chiang Kai-shek in his vision for a unified, Western-friendly China. **1 March 1944**

Stalin becomes involved in the war in Asia
Aghast at Japan's aggression towards the Chinese communists, Stalin orders the Red Army to strike Taiwan and Korea, hoping to gain a foothold in the continent. **31 May 1945**

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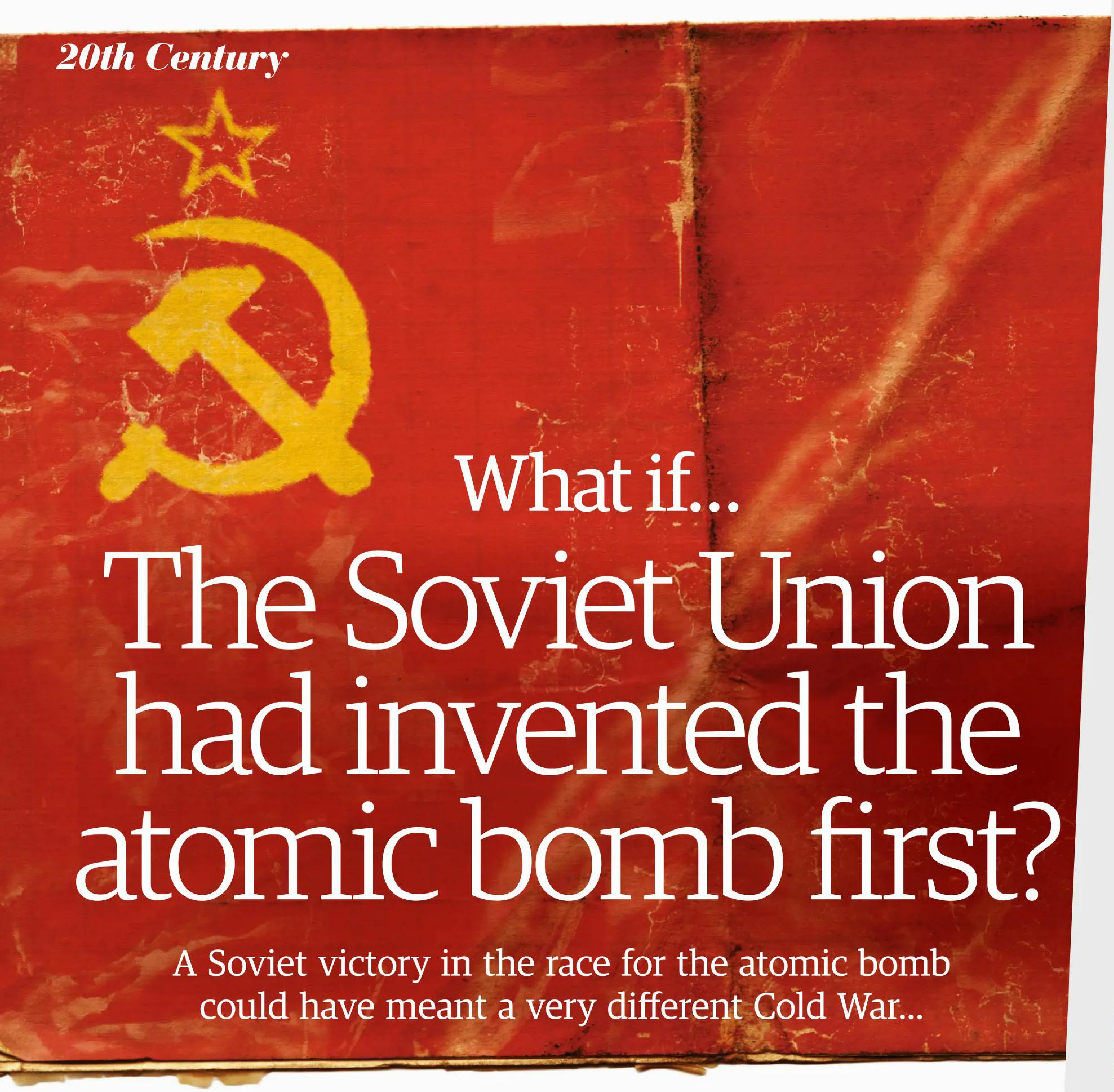


What if...

The Soviet Union had invented the atomic bomb first?

A Soviet victory in the race for the atomic bomb could have meant a very different Cold War...

INTERVIEW WITH... DAVID J HOLLOWAY

David J Holloway is professor emeritus at Stanford University and the author of *Stalin and the Bomb: The Soviet Union and Atomic Energy, 1939-1956* (1994) and the essay *Nuclear Weapons and the Cold War in Europe* (2013).

When physicists Lise Meitner and Otto Frisch discovered nuclear fission in December 1938, the possibility of an atomic weapon became a frightening reality. Scientists from several countries began work, seeking to produce such a device. However, after being invaded by Nazi Germany in 1941, the Soviet Union chose instead to focus efforts on repelling the enemy. Meanwhile, in the United States, the Manhattan Project saw a team of experts led by Robert J Oppenheimer devote vast resources to ensuring America were the leaders in the race. In 1945, Oppenheimer was ultimately victorious, but what if the bomb had fallen first into the hands of the Soviet Union? Would the weapon have been detonated not over Hiroshima, but Berlin? Would we still have had the Cold War?

What exactly was the Soviet atomic project and how did it fit into the wider race for the bomb taking place during the 1940s?

When nuclear fission was discovered at the end of 1938, Soviet scientists were as excited about the discovery as physicists in other countries. They did work on investigating the possibility of a nuclear fission chain reaction, as either a power reactor or an explosive reaction – a bomb. But in June of 1941, when the Germans invaded the Soviet Union, the work was ended. There were much more immediate tasks at hand because the German armies advanced rapidly and were quickly able to threaten Moscow. Despite this, the Soviet Union did learn about the work going on, initially in Britain and then in the United States, through their intelligence service. Perhaps most importantly they were able to obtain a copy of the MAUD report, which was a classified report investigating the possibility of using uranium to construct a bomb. One of the famous Cambridge Five spies transmitted the report to Moscow in October of 1941, at almost exactly the same time it was being briefed to President Roosevelt in Washington DC. So the Soviet Union was on a par with the US in terms of scientific knowledge regarding an atomic weapon. However, while the report helped to speed up the Manhattan Project it was largely ignored by the Soviet Union. Lavrentiy Beria, who was head of Soviet intelligence, feared that it was a scam designed to distract them. Additionally, the prospect of a bomb in two or three years, which is essentially what the MAUD report stated,

© Headshot image: Stanford University. **Main Artwork** Original map © Alamy images. Above artwork © Getty images

didn't seem very interesting when you're desperately trying to defend Moscow against the German attack. However, when intelligence came to Moscow about German work on a potential bomb, Stalin signed the decree setting up a small experimental project of their own.

How much more advanced was the Manhattan Project?

The thing to remember is that although the US entered the war in December 1941, it was not subject to invasion or to bombing in the way the Soviet Union was. By that point the German armies had Leningrad under siege and were even threatening Moscow. Indeed, when Stalin signed the decree setting up the relatively small project it was just as the Battle for Stalingrad was beginning. The scientist who was put in charge, Igor Kurchatov, had to assemble his group at a time when the country was fighting to defend itself. Meanwhile Roosevelt has given authorisation to turn the American research on the bomb into an industrial project. I think we forget that the Manhattan Project employed maybe 120,000 people. So that's the key difference. What you see in the Soviet Union is a pre-industrial project on the bomb, which is constantly receiving espionage concerning the Manhattan Project. The scientists involved were very conscious that they were lagging behind.

Mushroom cloud over Nagasaki

> "The scientists involved were very conscious that they were lagging behind"

The Past

J Robert Oppenheimer

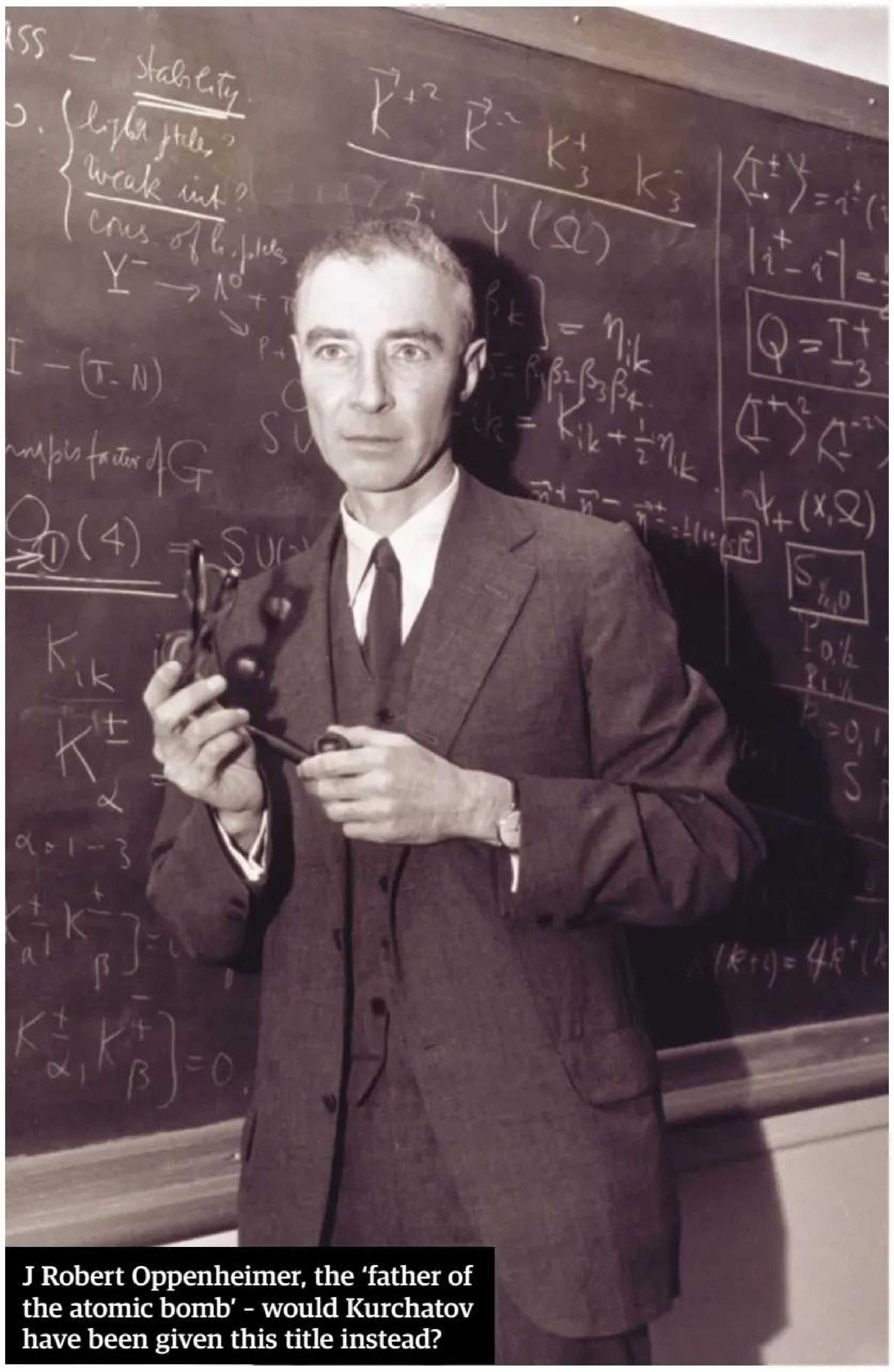
J Robert Oppenheimer was a gifted physicist, chosen as the scientific director of the American attempt to create an atomic weapon, the Manhattan Project. It was during the war that Oppenheimer became interested in the possibility of nuclear bombs, concerned that Nazi Germany may possibly have already been creating such a weapon. Oppenheimer chose Los Alamos as the site for the project and on 16 July 1945, tested 'Trinity', their first atomic weapon. Oppenheimer was opposed to the bombing of Nagasaki and later, after the war, at the development of the more powerful hydrogen bomb. He was targeted during the 'Red Scare' for supposedly having communist sympathies.

Klaus Fuchs

Klaus Fuchs was a scientist who in 1943, joined the Manhattan Project. However, Fuchs was also a spy who provided information to the Soviet Union on the development of the American atomic project. He was discovered in 1949 when the United States and Great Britain cracked the famous VENONA codes, used by Soviet spies. Fuchs would be sentenced for 14 years and would then move to East Germany, passing away in 1988. The importance of the information supplied by Fuchs to the Soviet atomic project remains a source of debate. However some argue that his information helped to save the Soviet project precious time.

Igor Kurchatov

Igor Kuchatov was the director of the Soviet nuclear programme. Kurchatov was known for wearing a large beard, which he stated would not be cut until the programme succeeded. Kurchatov would later pursue the peaceful use of nuclear technology, becoming fearful of the potential use of atomic weapons. Aware of his own responsibility, he sought to argue against further testing. Despite the success of the Soviet nuclear project, he continued to wear his beard for the remainder of his life.



J Robert Oppenheimer, the 'father of the atomic bomb' – would Kurchatov have been given this title instead?

The first successful Soviet atomic test, known as 'first lightning'

So it's likely that it would never have been possible for Kurchatov's group to have overtaken the Manhattan Project any time?

No, I don't think it would have been possible. Just given the conditions of the war. Even if they had decided, let's say before the German attack, to set up the atomic industry to produce the bomb, I doubt it would have been able to survive the subsequent Nazi attack. Due to the timescale, I think the question would be 'we're fighting for our lives, how can we be concerned about a bomb that might appear in two or three years?'

What was the Soviet Union's reaction to the Hiroshima and Nagasaki bombings?

The Soviet Union had very detailed intelligence about the Manhattan Project, but they appear not to have had any intelligence about the plan to use the bomb against Japan. It was a shock for Moscow and a couple of weeks after the bombing of Hiroshima, on 22 August 1945, Stalin signed a decree turning the small but growing Soviet nuclear project into a crash programme to develop the bomb as quickly as possible. They had actually received information about the design of the plutonium bomb, the type dropped on Nagasaki, and it was that design they decided to copy. And so the first Soviet test, which was in August 1949, was actually a copy of the Nagasaki bomb.

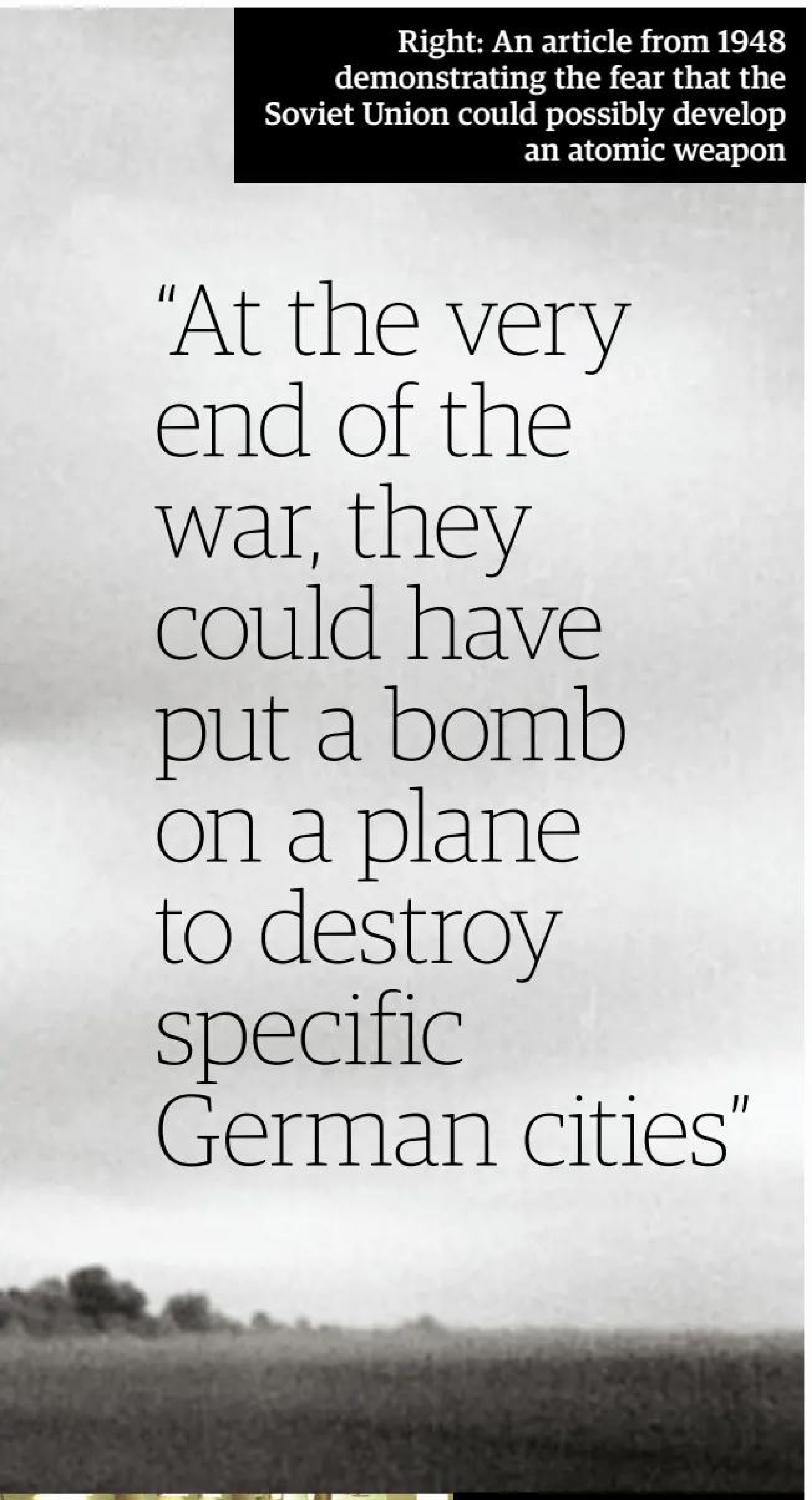
What would it have taken for the Soviets to develop the bomb first?

First of all, it would have taken a decision to invest in a very large industrial project to develop the bomb. Additionally, this decision would have to be taken before the summer of 1942, when the United States chose to go ahead with their project and would have had to disregard any cost. Even for the US, that was a major decision taken largely on advice from scientists that not only would this be possible but that maybe the Germans were already building one. In the Soviet Union, there wasn't that great trust between the leadership and the scientists.

The second thing is that, even if they had made that decision, the war would still have changed everything. During the German attack all resources were devoted to the Soviet Union's defence. When Kurchatov was trying to set up his small laboratory, he could hardly get anyone to pay attention to him because everyone was under enormous pressure to fulfil different tasks for weapons production. He even writes a letter complaining about this to Beria.

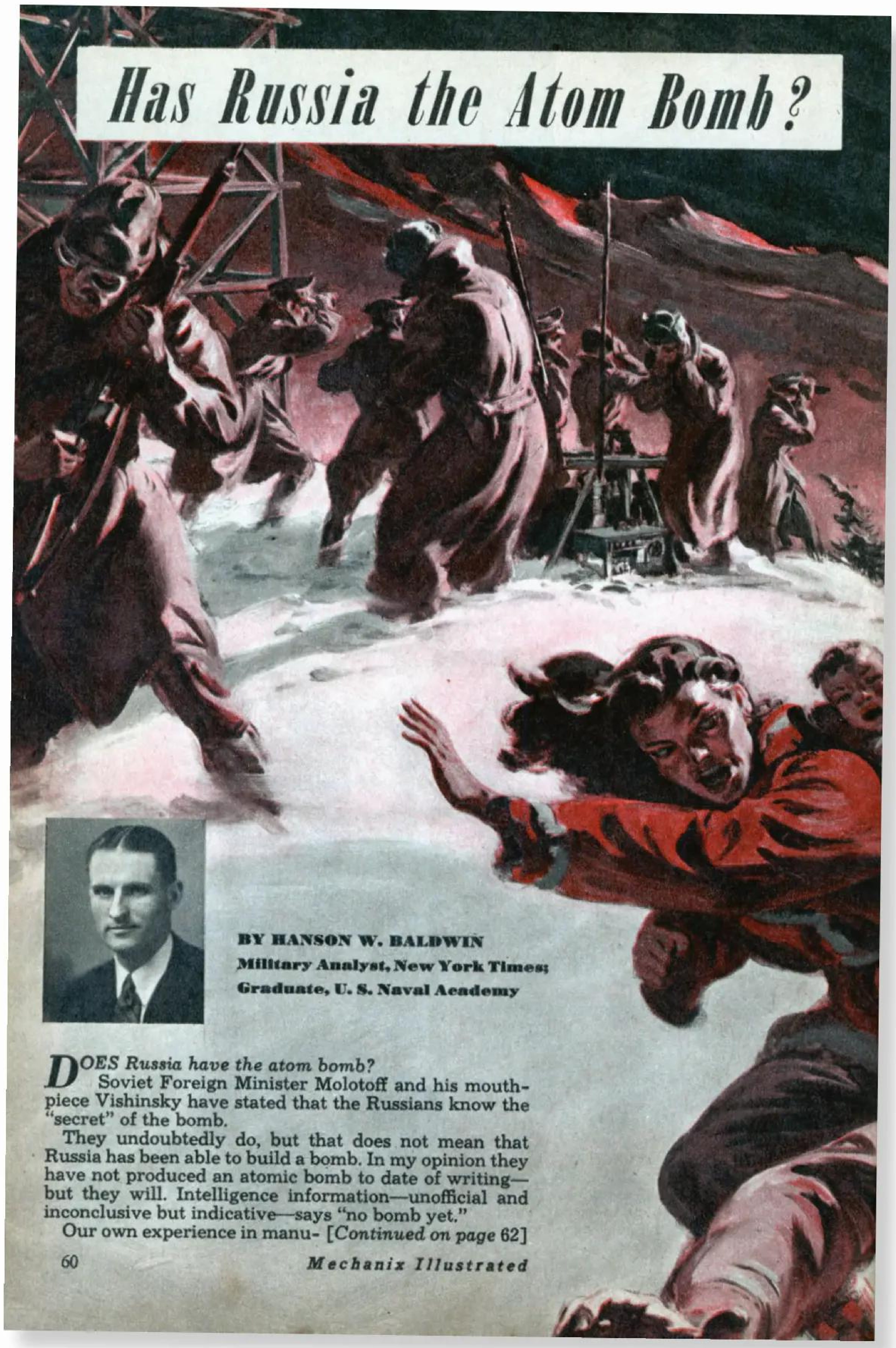
If the Soviet Union had developed the bomb first, would it have been detonated during the war? Possibly over Germany?

It's certainly possible. The fighting to seize Berlin was ferocious and went on until May 1945 and the use of the bomb might have been regarded as 'helpful' in ending the war. For Britain, strategic bombing was an extremely important part of the way the war was fought, especially after Dunkirk and the British were out of the European continent. But that was not the case with the Soviet Union. The Soviet strategic bombing didn't really play a serious role in their attack on Germany. Their air force was used more in a tactical role to support land forces. However, one could still argue that at the very end of the war, they could have put a



Right: An article from 1948 demonstrating the fear that the Soviet Union could possibly develop an atomic weapon

> "At the very end of the war, they could have put a bomb on a plane to destroy specific German cities"



Has Russia the Atom Bomb?

BY HANSON W. BALDWIN
Military Analyst, New York Times;
Graduate, U. S. Naval Academy

DOES Russia have the atom bomb?

Soviet Foreign Minister Molotoff and his mouthpiece Vishinsky have stated that the Russians know the "secret" of the bomb.

They undoubtedly do, but that does not mean that Russia has been able to build a bomb. In my opinion they have not produced an atomic bomb to date of writing—but they will. Intelligence information—unofficial and inconclusive but indicative—says "no bomb yet."

Our own experience in manu- *[Continued on page 62]*

60 *Mechanix Illustrated*

A nuclear staffer cleans the first Soviet nuclear bomb, tested in 1949

bomb on a plane to destroy specific German cities. And that would certainly have been conceivable.

Do you think ultimately we still would have ended up with a Cold War?
Yes, I think so. Because there was still the kind of fundamental ideological difference between the Soviet Union and the United States. The Soviet Union did see victory in the war as another step in the progress towards communism. However, I think the Cold War would have been different because the American monopoly on the bomb or the great lead it had from 1949, made it much easier for the US to make the commitment it did to the post-war defence of Europe. When Eisenhower decided European powers couldn't afford politically or economically to reach the troop levels NATO required, there was always the option to send nuclear weapons to Europe. But I think the fact of the American monopoly initially, and then its superiority in the number of weapons, made certain decisions easier for the US than they would otherwise have been. And so the Cold War could have taken a different shape.

Do you think then we would be feeling the effects now or do you think we'd still be very much in the same world?
I mean, ultimately it would not have made much of a difference because we still would have had two sides with nuclear weapons. The US would still have built up its nuclear forces, after all, it was economically and technologically more powerful than the Soviet Union. Its economy had not been damaged in the same way the Soviet economy was subjected to huge destruction during the war. So I think we still would have got to a point of probably strategic parity and mutual assured destruction, and then it would have been a rivalry of which system was better. So ultimately I don't think that the Soviet Union having more weapons initially would have made that much difference to the eventual outcome.

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The Possibility

The Nazi Atomic Project
While the Soviet Union most likely could not have developed an atomic weapon before the US, one possibility is that the Nazi project may have been successful before either of them. Nuclear fission was discovered in Berlin in 1938, creating panic in America that the Nazis were on their way to weaponising this discovery. Kurt Diebner was in charge of the project but several scientific miscalculations meant the project lagged behind its American counterpart. The Nazi project relied on expensive heavy water and when the key plant producing this material was destroyed, the project lagged even further behind.

Hiroshima and Nagasaki
On 6 and 9 August 1945, the United States detonated two atomic bombs over the Japanese cities of Hiroshima and Nagasaki, killing thousands. The next day the Japanese government agreed to a surrender. The decision by President Truman to use atomic weapons, not once but twice, remains a controversial and divisive one. However, if the Soviet Union had been able to develop an atomic weapon first, during World War II, would we have seen the devastating weapons detonated over Europe?

Nuclear Monopoly
The United States' monopoly on nuclear weapons after the end of WWII meant it could rely on the nuclear threat to help defend Europe. Indeed, during the Berlin blockade of 1948-49, a number of B-29 bombers were transferred to the area to demonstrate the willingness of the United States to use nuclear weapons against the Soviet Union if necessary. However, although David J Holloway suggests the US would always have been able to develop the number of weapons necessary for a monopoly, would they have been able to secure this hold on Europe?

What if…

The CIA had never been created?

What has been the impact of the world's most powerful intelligence agency? And what if it had never been formed?

INTERVIEW WITH… JOHN PRADOS

John Prados is an author, historian and analyst of national security. He specialises in the Vietnam War, World War II and the history of the Central Intelligence Agency. His most recent work is *The Ghosts Of Langley: Into The Heart Of The CIA.*

How did the CIA come to be?

In 1947 the United States passed a sweeping law called the National Security Act of 1947. This not only created the CIA but also the National Security Council and the Secretary of Defense to manage all the armed services, as well as an independent Air Force and a Marine Corps as a specified component of the Navy. In the case of the Central Intelligence Agency, the Americans had completed an extensive congressional probe into the Japanese surprise attack on Pearl Harbor and sought to avoid any repeat of that. During WWII the US had benefited from the Office of Strategic Services (OSS), a wartime spy agency, and the CIA was intended as a successor to that.

The CIA orchestrated the Bay of Pigs invasion of Cuba in 1961, which ended in humiliation

© Getty

Who are some of the key figures in its formation?

Years later, in the early 1960s, President Harry S Truman wrote an op-ed article in which he denounced the CIA, but at the time of its creation he was clearly a major contributor. Truman provided a blueprint for what became the CIA with his establishment of a supervisory framework he called the National Intelligence Authority. More than that, Truman and a few of his close friends donned capes and caps and held up wooden swords to play at cloak and dagger. There were a number of former OSS operatives who agitated for the creation of a peacetime intelligence agency, including prominent figures like William 'Wild Bill' Donovan, who'd headed the OSS, and Allen W Dulles, a former OSS station chief. Both of them used their law firms to recruit like-minded OSS veterans to support their campaign. General Hoyt Vandenberg, a prominent World War II air commander, was notable as an empire builder at the Central Intelligence Group, the CIA's immediate predecessor, and his grabbing of missions and efforts to expand the organisation provided a foundation for the CIA. Dulles would come back, first as an efficiency expert to advise Truman, then as a CIA official, and finally as superspy and CIA director throughout the 1950s. It was Dulles who built the headquarters building and complex that still houses the CIA today, a story we tell in *The Ghosts Of Langley.*

Tell us about a particularly daring or interesting CIA mission that you researched when writing the book.

Over many years the CIA conducted a variety of missions in conjunction with the Secret Intelligence Service, or MI6. Sometimes these were direct partnerships, as with the CIA-SIS operations into Albania or Iran. Other times it was more a matter of tacit cooperation. One of these took place in the Far East in the late 1950s, during President Eisenhower's administration. Here the CIA sought to intervene in a rebellion of Indonesian military leaders against President Sukarno. CIA officials tried to convince MI6 representatives in Singapore to provide offices and an alternate base for US efforts, and US warships did shelter at Singapore during the operation. The Indonesian colonels rebelling against Sukarno could hardly fight, however, and the CIA operation

Interviewed by Callum McKelvie. **Main image source:** © © Getty Images, wiki/ United States Federal government

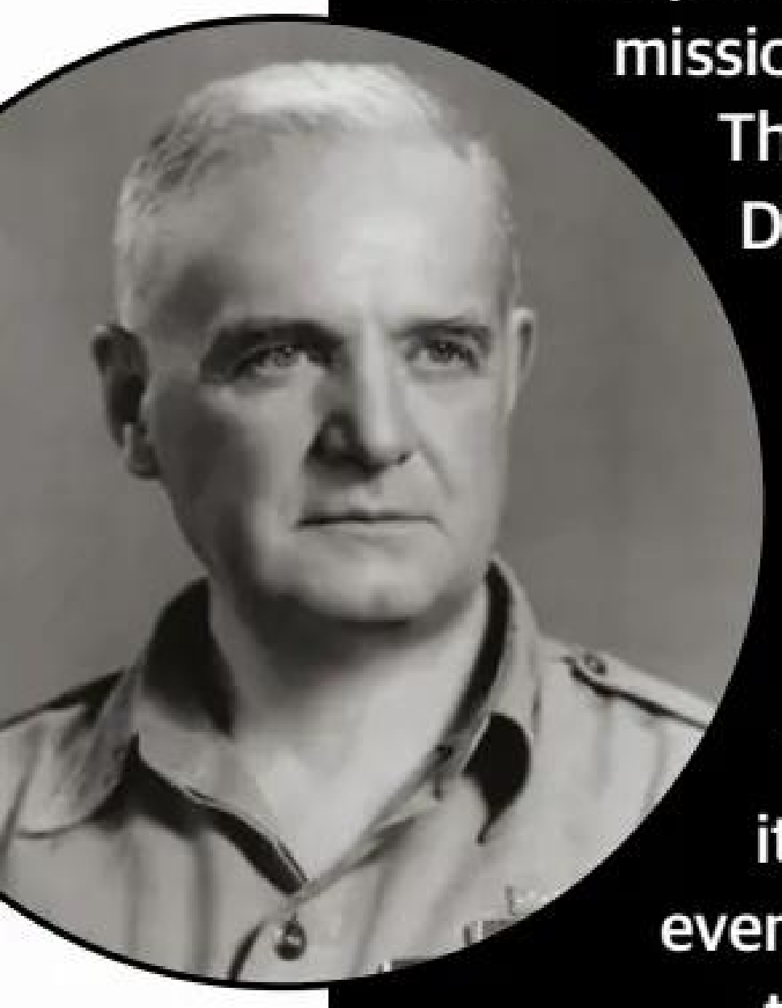
TOP SECRET
REJECTED
CENTRAL INTELLIGENCE AGENCY
UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

The Past

1942-45

Office of Strategic Services

The purpose of the OSS was to obtain information about enemy operations and carry out sabotage. Unlike other organisations during WWII, the OSS was run by civilians and was not directly tied to the military. The service was attached to the White House and Donovan often made information available directly to the president. The OSS was not permitted to conduct missions in the Pacific Theatre as General Douglas MacArthur controlled the operations there. The OSS was terminated on 20 September 1945 and most of its functions were eventually transferred to the CIA.



1951-61

Allen Dulles

During World War II, Dulles served as chief of the OSS section in Bern, Switzerland, after being recruited by Donovan. Following the war Dulles was made chair of the committee that surveyed the American intelligence system and led to the establishment of the CIA in 1951. For the organisation's first two years he served as deputy director, before being made director in 1953. Under Dulles' leadership the CIA scored several major coups, including assisting the overthrow of Mohammad Mosaddegh in Iran in 1953, Jacobo Arbenz in Guatemala in 1954, and obtaining a copy of Nikita Khrushchev's 1956 speech denouncing Stalin. Dulles' fall from grace would come after he was reappointed by Kennedy and implicated in the Bay of Pigs scandal.

1961

Langley

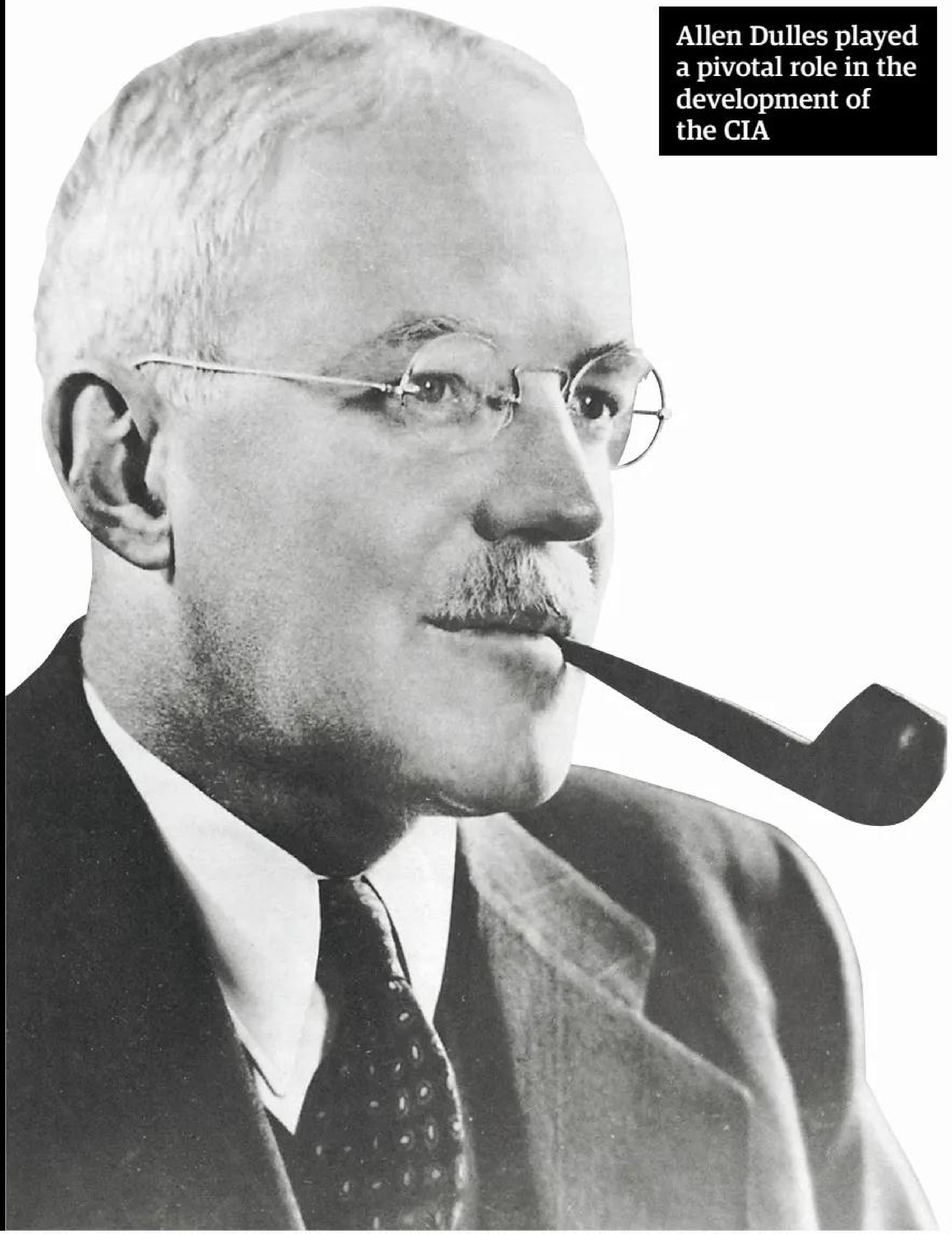
As CIA director, Dulles took up the challenge of finding a permanent home for the agency. The site known as Langley in Virginia was selected due to its privacy, security and closeness for the majority of CIA employees at the time. The site was also perfect for future expansion.

The CIA's headquarters in Langley, Virginia

fell apart after an American pilot was captured on a bombing mission to one of Indonesia's islands. Eisenhower's board of consultants who monitored his intelligence operations were highly critical of the Indonesia fiasco.

How impactful has the CIA been to both 20th and 21st century history?

The CIA probably had a wider range of activities, in more places around the world, than any other American government agency in the latter half of the 20th century. In the current century CIA activities played a critical role in darkening the image of the United States, while at the same time having an indeterminate impact on the asserted enemy, Al Qaeda. In addition, the way the Al Qaeda mission has crept into the wider role of attacking not only 'terrorism' writ large but any enemy of the United States suggests that old methods of exercising control over intelligence operations no longer function as intended.



Allen Dulles played a pivotal role in the development of the CIA

How has the role of the CIA changed from its Cold War/post-war origins?

At its inception in 1947 the CIA was a pure analytical instrument, with some espionage capacity. Covert operations, psychological warfare, disinformation and misinformation activities were located outside the agency, in the so-called Office of Policy Coordination (OPC). This came to be viewed as counterproductive, and in 1952 the OPC was absorbed into the CIA, giving it the broad range of activities in which it still engages. Also at that time, the CIA was subject to very few outside controls. President Eisenhower first created a White House watchdog unit, and the intelligence oversight committees of today originated in the 1970s after congressional investigations and a presidential commission inquiry into illegal activities by the CIA. The record on oversight is irregular – it has waxed and waned depending on the party in power, political purposes and the extent of abuses that are evident. For example, with accountability yet to be enforced for the CIA's 'black prisons' programme, Michael Morell, a former official and one of its defenders, has been spoken of as a possible CIA chief in the new Joe Biden administration. *The Ghosts Of Langley*, by the way, contains a detailed refutation of Morell's arguments in support of the aggressive interrogation (torture) programme.

“The absence of a CIA might have reduced US propensity for foreign interventions”

Were there any points when the CIA could have been disbanded or reformed beyond recognition?
In 1952-54, when a covert operation in Poland (which MI6 had handed off to the CIA) was exposed as a Soviet entrapment scheme, there was an internal push for reform that led to the so-called ‘Doolittle Report’, which stopped short of demanding major changes. After the CIA repeated a number of its mistakes from the Indonesian operation at the Bay of Pigs in Cuba in 1961, there were quite serious suggestions to eliminate its covert action apparatus, create separate organisations, or confine the agency to intelligence analysis.

These suggestions were defeated in all likelihood because President John F Kennedy wanted to continue CIA covert operations, not curtail them. Thus you had a secret war against Fidel Castro, and an ambitious programme of CIA covert action in Southeast Asia. At the end of the Cold War, in America there was an effort to have a ‘peace dividend’, which could have included CIA reforms. Instead, the agency shopped for new roles and missions. The CIA’s involvement in the former-Yugoslavia’s civil wars, and in monitoring Middle East peace initiatives, were partly intended to demonstrate the organisation had continuing value.

If the CIA had never been formed what could some of the immediate effects have been?
Advocates of CIA covert operations argue that the agency’s ability to engage in these provides a capability in between doing nothing and going to war. By this logic the absence of the CIA would have increased the danger of big wars. However, big wars were never attractive to national leaders, - and the CIA’s analytical role helped to defuse that danger by explaining foreign adversaries’ motives. The other side of this question is that CIA built its covert-action capabilities to fight the adversary superpower, but ended up using those means primarily for interventions in the Third World. The absence of a CIA might have reduced US propensity to engage in foreign interventions.

What could some of the later and more global effects have been?
CIA operations in Europe in the 1950s sharpened the Cold War, and decades later the revelation of stay-behind ‘Gladio’-type networks became a foreign policy embarrassment. Had there not been a CIA to intervene in the Congo, the decolonisation of Africa would’ve been smoother. Ditto the independence of Mozambique and Angola in the 1970s and 1980s. The secret war against Cuba spilt over into South and Central America and endured into the ’80s, with tragic consequences. The impact of CIA activities in the Vietnam War was huge and deserves its own detailed study.

The Vietnam War was one of America’s defining conflicts of the 20th century. Naturally, the CIA carried out numerous operations

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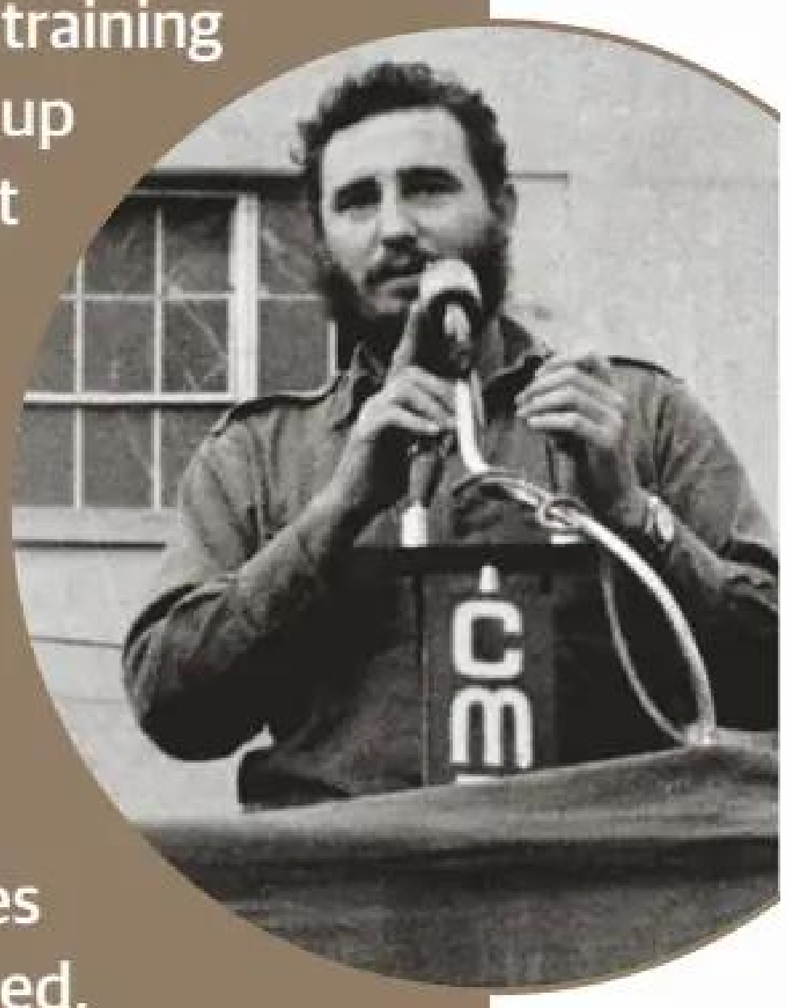
The Possibility

1961

Bay of Pigs Invasion
During the Eisenhower administration, the CIA developed a plan to train Cuban exiles for an invasion. Castro’s takeover of Cuba had hit American foreign policy hard and the implications of his willingness to work with the Soviet Union were still unknown. Secret training camps were set up in Guatemala, but Castro became aware of them as early as October 1960. The invasion in 1961 was a disaster, with most of the exiles killed or captured. This caused Castro to become even more anti-American in his foreign policy choices. Had the CIA not been in operation, it is unsure what would have occurred here.



1960-68

Intervention in the Congo
Between 1960 and 1968, the CIA carried out operations in the Congo to prevent the newly independent regime falling to communism. After gaining independence in June 1960, Patrice Lumumba was elected as prime minister. Within days, Congo’s troops mutinied against their all-white officer corps and Lumumba wanted full control of his country’s resources to improve conditions for his people. Belgium sent troops and Lumumba asked the Soviet Union for assistance, and it provided technical advisors. This concerned the US as it had acquired stakes in numerous Congolese materials, including obtaining the uranium for its first two atomic bombs from a Congolese mine. Lumumba was captured by rival Joseph Kasavubu, the country’s president. He was placed under house arrest and shot by firing squad. The CIA had assassination plans in place but these were not carried out. However, it did support Lumumba’s rivals. Had the CIA not existed, the history of this troubled country would almost certainly have been very different.

What if…

US forces retreated from Korea?

A victory for North Korea could have seen a humiliated America move more strongly against communism around the world

INTERVIEW WITH…
DR ROBERT FARLEY

Dr Farley is a senior lecturer at the Patterson School of Diplomacy and International Commerce at the University of Kentucky. His research and books cover military world history and politics.

What were the circumstances leading up to the Korean War?

The division of Korea happened in late 1945 after the Japanese surrender [in World War II]. The northern half of Korea was assigned to the Soviets, and the southern half was assigned to the United States. There were nationalists, Korean nationalists, on both sides. On the northern half, these were based around a guerrilla leader named Kim Il-sung. On the southern half there were a variety of leaders, but eventually they sort of coalesced around a guy named Syngman Rhee. Things were pretty violent from the beginning. A lot of people talk about the Korean War breaking out in June of 1950 as a real surprise, but there had been sporadic fighting all the way up until 1950. What happened in June was that the North Koreans launched a much more significant offensive into the South, with the approval of the Soviet Union, although not its direct support. That offensive was wildly successful and threatened to just roll up the entire peninsula.

How did the war play out?

The United States decided to intervene almost immediately. It deployed troops and aircraft and warships to the area. The troops were known as Task Force Smith, [but] were not well prepared to fight the North Koreans. They didn't have the right kind of equipment, they didn't have modern training, and so they were pushed back along with the Republic of Korea, the South Korean troops. For the first few months of the war, the North Koreans took Seoul, [and] they rolled down the peninsula. But the Americans and the South Koreans were able to establish a perimeter at a place called Pusan. They were able to protect that perimeter with lots of air support and with lots of naval support, despite several massive North Korean offensives. Essentially, they were trying to break things open.

What happened next?

So the Americans decided to intervene with a lot more force. And General Douglas MacArthur, with the support of the United Nations, launches an amphibious invasion of the Korean Peninsula at Incheon, which is half way up the peninsula off the west coast of Korea. That sort of undercut the entire North Korean offensive, and the North Koreans retreated rapidly up the peninsula. [Eventually it finishes] at the 38th parallel in 1953.

Could Pusan have been a turning point where America could have lost the war?

Yeah, I think so. If [North Korea] had punched through that perimeter that would have been the end of the war. It's unlikely that the US would have gone through with the amphibious invasion of the coast at Incheon. Essentially the entire Republic of Korea would have been occupied and in exile if Pusan had fallen.

The Korean War claimed hundreds of thousands of lives

Interview by Jonathan O'Callaghan. **Main image source:** Getty images

What would have been the major implications of America losing?

I think that just how the United States reacted to other reversals during the Cold War, we would have doubled down on a number of other areas in which we were in conflict with the Soviet Union. I think it probably would have gone badly for [Fidel] Castro in Cuba. I doubt that anyone would have been willing to allow the establishment of a Communist regime in Cuba. I think we'd have had a much more substantial commitment to Vietnam to prevent what happened in Korea. There would probably be some other places where you would have seen a heavier US involvement.

President Eisenhower may have struggled for election in 1952 had America lost

An armistice was signed in 1953

How would this have affected presidential elections in the US?

The Korean War happens at the same time as the 'Red Scare' in the United States. Essentially the source of the Red Scare is this idea that the US gave away China to the Communists, that we didn't support the Chinese government heavily enough. Eisenhower is a relative moderate on these questions. He believed that McCarthy was a buffoon and a number of other things. And so the United States, [after] losing China, then losing Korea, you might get a substantially more radical Republican candidate in 1952. I'm not sure it would be McCarthy, who had all sorts of problems. But there were other anti-Communist candidates who were more aggressively anti-Communist than Eisenhower was. And if one of those were elected in 1952 then that has a series of follow-on effects. Potentially the reaction to the 1956 revolution in Hungary becomes an interesting question. And so yeah, you might see domestic politics in the United States is uglier and more anti-Communist as a result of losing Korea.

Do you think a unified Korea would have been able to thrive?

There's almost no reason to believe that a unified Korea under Pyongyang would be as prosperous or as democratic as [South] Korea is today. In 1950, North Korea was the industrialized part. Even in 1953 after all the bombing, North Korea was more industrialised and more economically productive than South Korea. But the Kim regime has really run the economy of North Korea into the ground. The Japanese left [South] Korea in a fairly advanced state, although the Koreans will absolutely reject that if you tell them that is the case, but it's true.

Who would a unified Korea have allied with?

They might have been a little less dependent on [China and the Soviet Union], but they would have faced a very difficult set of choices about how to navigate between Beijing and Moscow in the 1960s. I think it's really hard to imagine them doing anything really innovative like trying to break away from both communist superpowers and some sort of move towards the United States. And so I think the foreign policy would probably in a lot of ways be similar to what we actually saw from North Korea.

Do you see any scenario where a unified communist Korea becomes a major player in the spread of communism around the world?

North Korea, even as it was, sent weapons and advisors to a lot of places around the developing world, especially Latin America and so forth and so actively undertook steps to try to spread socialist revolution. It never really worked out, but still North Korean weapons were everywhere. It seems likely that Pyongyang would have done that anyway, but I'm not sure it would have been any more successful than it was in the real world. Had the US lost the Korean War, they would have doubled down on anti-Communism almost everywhere and would have pushed back even harder.

If America had lost, would North Korea have picked another enemy like Japan to focus on?

A lot of the rhetoric and propaganda that comes out of the Kim regime today is directed against the Japanese rather than the South Koreans. I think the problem is that if North Korea is not communist and weird and paranoid, then it has no reason to exist, because South Korea is such a successful

Alamy and Getty images

What was Domino Theory?

"You have a row of dominoes set up, you knock over the first one, and what will happen to the last one is the certainty that it will go over very quickly. So you could have a beginning of a disintegration that would have the most profound influences." Such was President Eisenhower's explanation of Domino Theory in 1954, the predominant foreign policy theory of the United States from the 1950s to the 1980s. The concern was that if the US allowed Southeast Asian nations to 'succumb to communism' without challenge then another and another would fall as a result, wiping out Western democratic influence. It was believed that the US had already allowed China to adopt communist rule too easily, which is why it engaged in conflict in both the Korean peninsula and Vietnam in the years that followed.

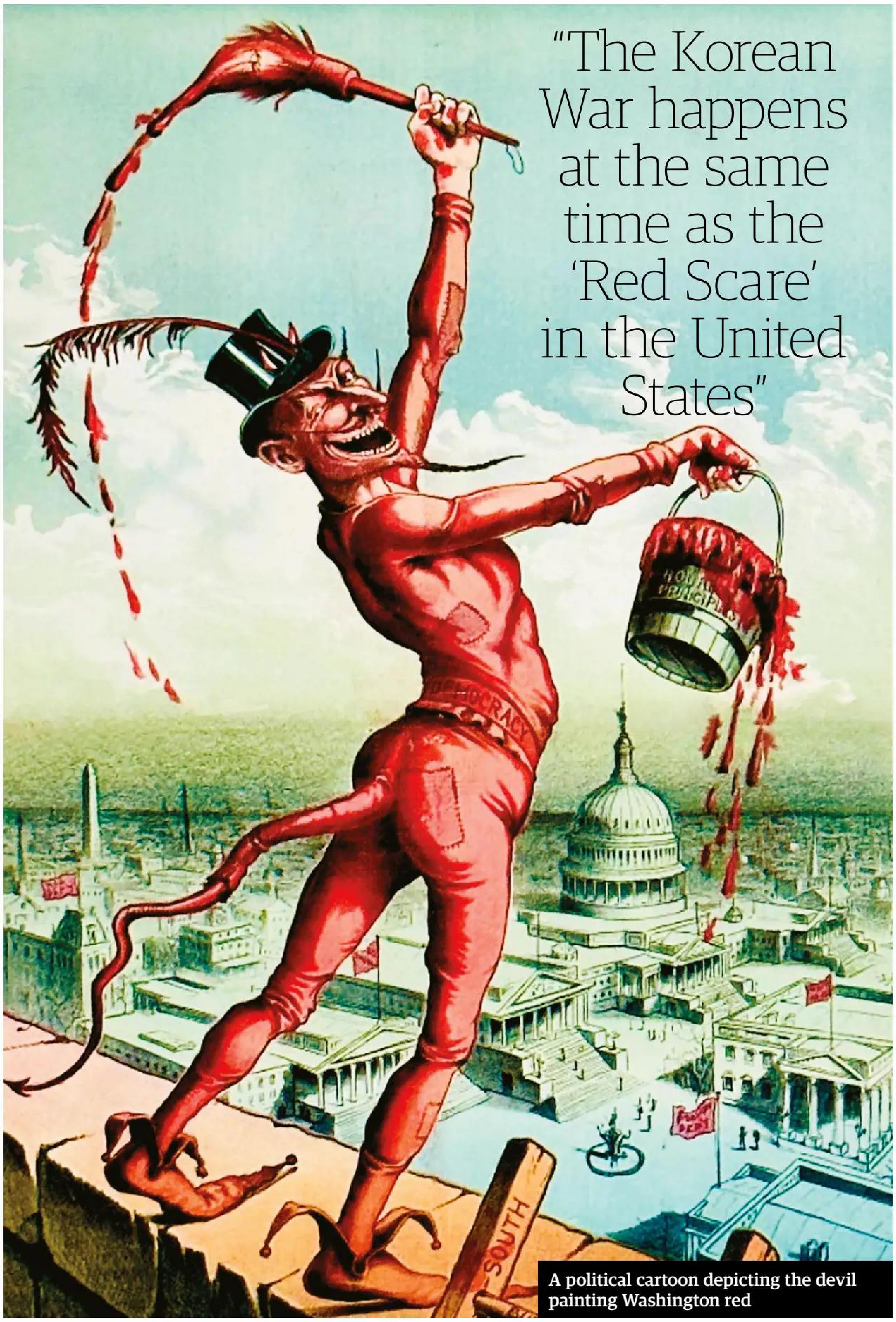
Eisenhower's concern over the spread of communism may well have been linked to fears about the proliferation of atomic weapons

example of a capitalist democratic country. And you take that example away and the behaviour might be different.

Would the North Koreans still have developed nuclear weapons?
I think it's very possible that the North Koreans might have decided to go ahead and develop nuclear weapons anyway. I mean, it would have been a large industrial economy with lots of human capital, with lots of know-how. They would have been one of the most thriving economies in the Soviet bloc, certainly larger even than East Germany, and so probably would have been the third largest economy in the entire Soviet bloc after the Soviet Union and China.

Is the world a better place that North Korea didn't win?
I think it's impossible to say. However, there are 33 million people in South Korea, and their lives are incontrovertibly better today than they would be if North Korea had won the war. That wasn't even really the reason we fought it, but South Korea is a thriving democratic market-oriented economy, and there's almost no way to imagine that those outcomes would have happened if North Korea had won the war. Now the war caused a lot more misery for the people of North Korea, but South Korea is a frontline democracy and a part of the family of nations. And I don't see the Kim regime having ever been able to do that.

> "The Korean War happens at the same time as the 'Red Scare' in the United States"



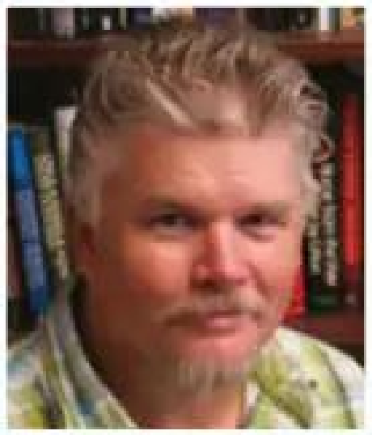
A political cartoon depicting the devil painting Washington red

Kim Jong-un is North Korea's leader today

What if…
The US had won the Vietnam War?

The world of US politics would have looked quite different if the country had been victorious

INTERVIEW WITH… DR ANDREW WIEST



Dr Andrew Wiest currently lectures at the University of Southern Mississippi and is the founding director of the Dale Centre for War and Society. His books include *The Boys Of '67: Charlie Company's War In Vietnam*, *Vietnam's Forgotten Army: Heroism And Betrayal In The ARVN* and *Vietnam: A View From The Front Lines*. He has also organised trips for Vietnam veterans suffering from PTSD to visit the country they once fought in. Wiest has developed a 'study abroad' programme for US students wishing to soak up life in Saigon or Hanoi.

What would have happened if the United States had won the Vietnam War?

There are a lot of academics and historians who look at Vietnam as a part of something much bigger – namely the Cold War. So if the US had won, the Cold War would probably have ended a little sooner and the dawn of that unilateral superpower controlling things would have come quicker. In Southeast Asia, everything would be radically different – including a faster and more thorough confrontation between the US and China. I doubt China would have sat by and let an American victory happen without repercussion – even though they were not exactly fans of the Vietnamese either. I don't think Beijing would have invaded Vietnam to repel the Americans, as they did in Korea, but it certainly would have been the US against China and Russia. And it would have been a war that was not just cold but glacial. American politics would certainly have been more tumultuous as well.

If you look at the US presidential elections since the 1960s, every one of them has been fought over Vietnam to one extent or another. It is still the most controversial aspect of a controversial time period. Had they come out of that smiling, with another greatest generation on their hands, US politics would have looked quite different. For instance, it is hard to see the Republican revolution taking place. Republicans typically have an aggressive foreign policy, it is one of their tropes, but if Democratic policy had won in Vietnam – because it was the Democrats who started the war in Southeast Asia – that would have taken a lot of heat away from their rivals.

Would they have become involved in more conflicts?

Yes, I think the US would have been much less gun-shy during the 1970s and 1980s. Reagan tinkered with it, but that use of force to solve conflicts didn't really come back until the first Bush and then with Bill Clinton. The reason the US did not rely on its military, on any great scale at least, to solve problems during the 1970s and the 1980s was all down to the country's failure in Vietnam.

When the Vietnam War began to cross into Cambodia it created the environment in which Pol Pot and the Khmer Rouge came to power. What resulted was a four-year holocaust. Could this have been avoided?

If the US was ever going to win the Vietnam War it would have been during the Tet Offensive of 1968. That was the turning point and that was when the public, back in the United States, saw the North Vietnamese were not just going to retreat and surrender – it was literally a fight to the death.

Of course, there was no big, magical American victory during Tet, but let's imagine there was. Let's imagine the US had repelled that attack quickly and conclusively and the war was essentially over as a result. At that point in time, the Khmer Rouge was not a big player in the conflict. It is only after the US began its military incursions into Cambodia and the government in that country began to fall that everything became out of hand. A victorious US in Vietnam would not have required any entrance into Cambodia and, as a result, you almost certainly would not have seen the rise of the Khmer Rouge. They are intrinsically tied to how the Vietnam War progressed, no doubt about that.

Would we ever have seen a situation like in Korea where the communist North and the democratic South are split down the middle, even to this day?

No, that was never going to happen. One side was going to reunify the country, no matter what. So if there was a big American victory, one situation you have is reunification under non-communist rule. As a result of that, the turn towards Asia the US is presently taking would have happened then

HA LONG BAY
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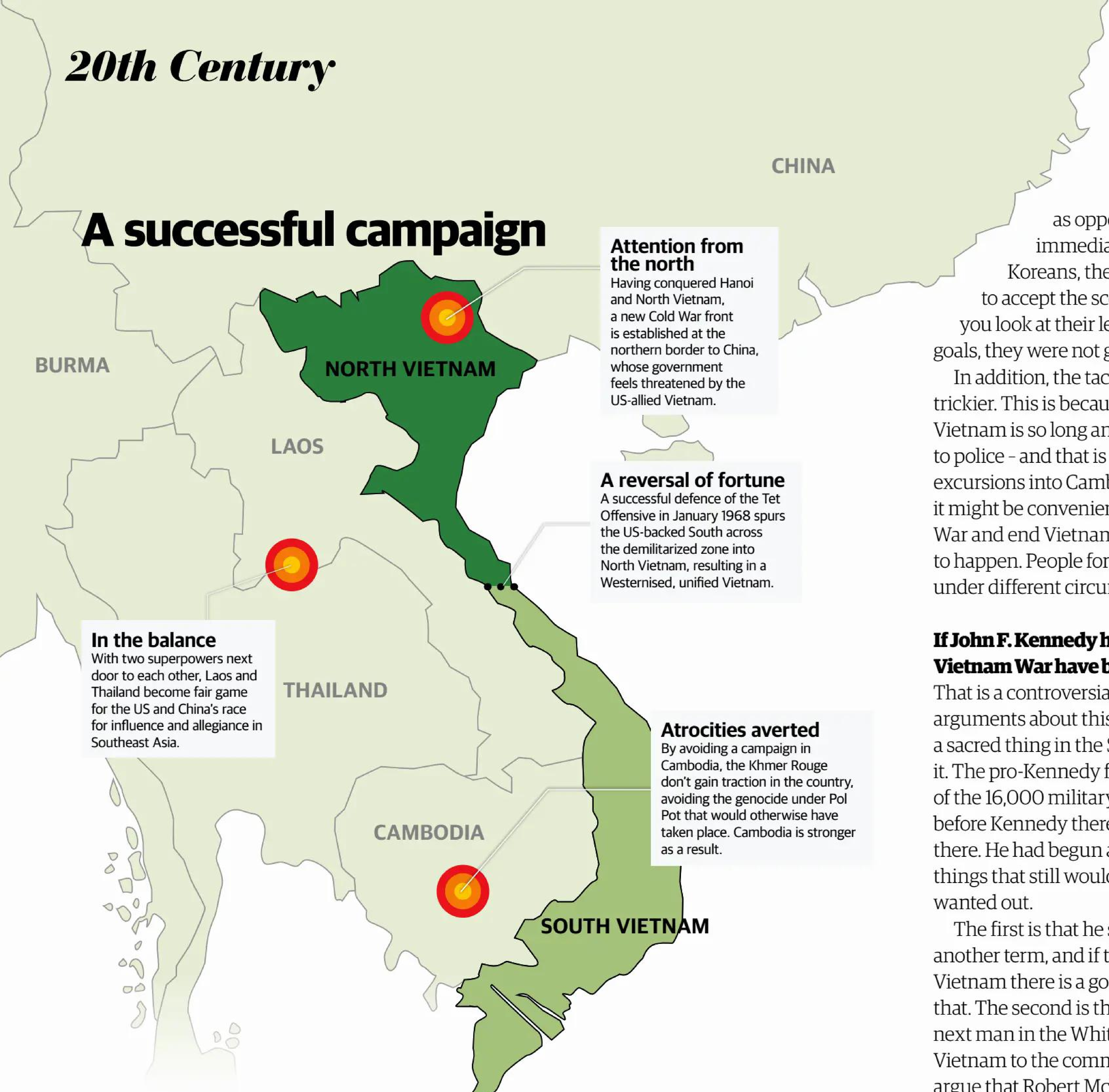
If the US campaign in Vietnam had proven successful, we might have seen an even greater influx of American influence than has already happened

A successful campaign



Attention from the north
Having conquered Hanoi and North Vietnam, a new Cold War front is established at the northern border to China, whose government feels threatened by the US-allied Vietnam.

A reversal of fortune
A successful defence of the Tet Offensive in January 1968 spurs the US-backed South across the demilitarized zone into North Vietnam, resulting in a Westernised, unified Vietnam.

In the balance
With two superpowers next door to each other, Laos and Thailand become fair game for the US and China's race for influence and allegiance in Southeast Asia.

Atrocities averted
By avoiding a campaign in Cambodia, the Khmer Rouge don't gain traction in the country, avoiding the genocide under Pol Pot that would otherwise have taken place. Cambodia is stronger as a result.

as opposed to now. We would have had an immediate conflict with China. Unlike the North Koreans, the North Vietnamese were much less likely to accept the scenario where the country remained split. If you look at their leadership, at their proclamations and their goals, they were not going to go for a 'tie'.

In addition, the tactical situation in Vietnam was much trickier. This is because the border between North and South Vietnam is so long and porous that it would be very difficult to police – and that is why you had the Ho Chi Minh trail, the excursions into Cambodia and Laos and all of that other stuff. So it might be convenient to think that we could replay the Korean War and end Vietnam with a stalemate, but that was never going to happen. People forget the wanted reunification too – just under different circumstances.

If John F. Kennedy had not been assassinated, would the Vietnam War have been avoided?
That is a controversial question. There have been so many arguments about this – and, of couse, Kennedy's legacy is such a sacred thing in the States that it is political kryptonite to touch it. The pro-Kennedy forces argue he wanted to withdraw most of the 16,000 military advisors that were over there. However, before Kennedy there were only 600 military advisors over there. He had begun a war over there and I think there are two things that still would have hamstrung him even if he had wanted out.

The first is that he still wanted his political party to win another term, and if the Democrats had wiped their hands of Vietnam there is a good chance they would not have achieved that. The second is that Kennedy wanted his brother to be the next man in the White House. To mess that up, by handing Vietnam to the communists, would have sunk this. I would also argue that Robert McNamara, who was Kennedy's confidant in the first place and the architect of the Vietnam War, was going to give him the same advice he gave Lyndon B. Johnson – which was to go in with all guns blazing. You have to remember that both Kennedy and Johnson faced the post-World War II consensus: to fight a difficult, problematic and long war against

> "If the US was ever going to win the Vietnam War it would have been during the Tet Offensive of 1968"

How would it be different?

Real timeline

1945

- **Vietnamese Declaration of Independence**
Based on the American Declaration of Independence, Ho Chi Minh asks the US and the West to oppose French colonial rule in Vietnam and support what will be "a free and independent country".
2 September 1945

- **Ho Chi Minh contacts President Truman**
The Vietnamese revolutionary writes to Truman asking him to "urgently interfere" in the foreign rule of his country. Truman fears Vietnam becoming communist and instead backs the French.
28 February 1946

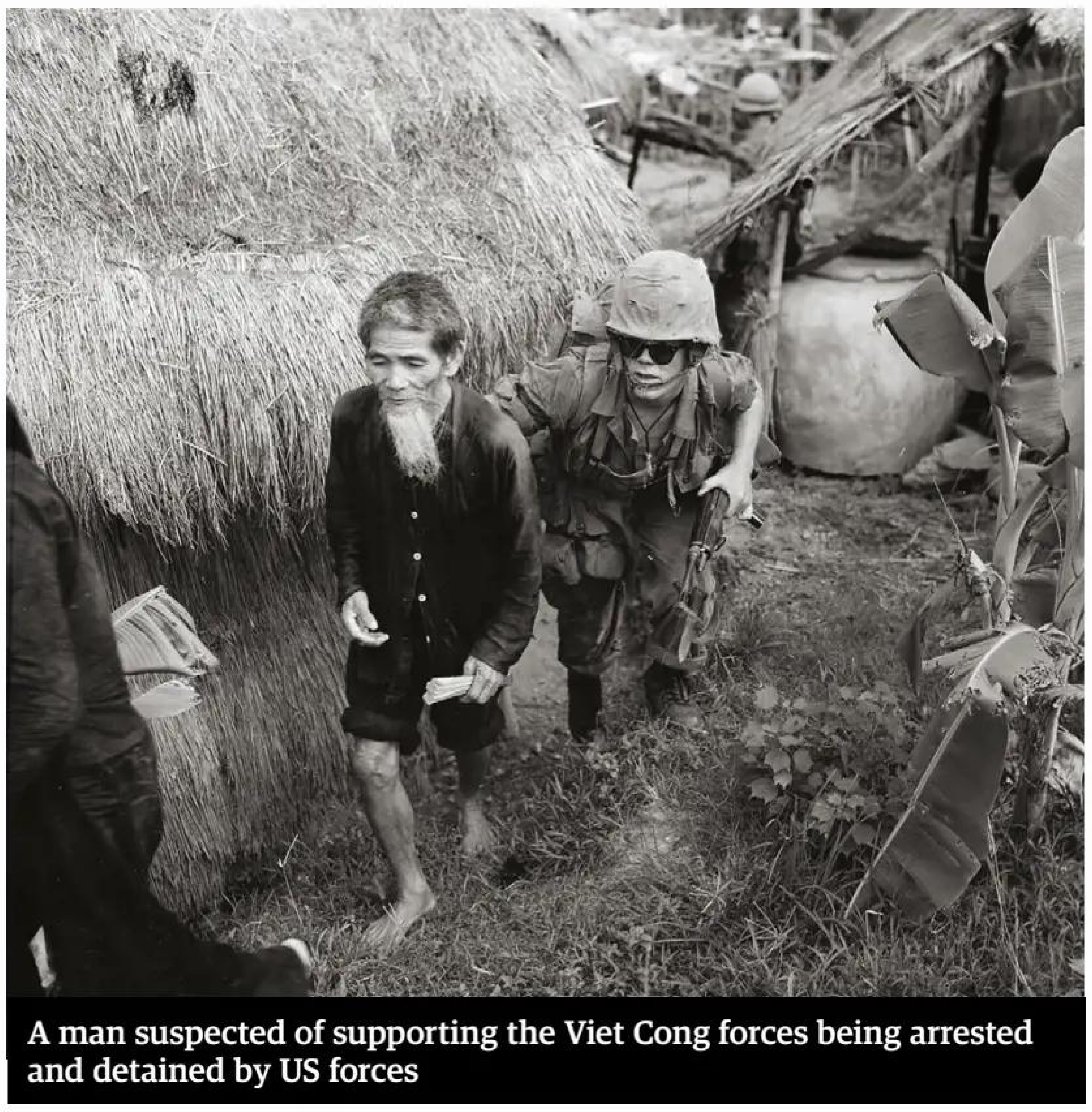
Real timeline

- **The Geneva Conference**
France agrees to the decolonisation of Vietnam. Free elections are promised, but the US suspects the communist Ho Chi Minh may win. It installs a brutal dictator, Ngo Dinh Diem, in South Vietnam. He is viewed by Ho Chi Minh and the North as a puppet ruler.
21 July 1954

- **Assassination of Đinh Diêm**
Diem – whose anti-Buddhist policies famously caused the monk Thich Quang Duc to immolate himself – is murdered in a brutal but mysterious coup d'état.
2 November 1963

Alternative timeline

- **US reunites Korea**
Fears that China would support the North prove unfounded. The US manages to push back the comparatively minimal army of Kim Il-sung and successfully reunites the two Koreas. Seoul aligns itself as a Western-friendly government.
27 July 1953



A man suspected of supporting the Viet Cong forces being arrested and detained by US forces

A convoy of US tanks in Vietnam

what they perceived as a communist threat or to embark on social changes back home – in particular the civil-rights movement. I believe Kennedy was also going to veer toward the civil-rights movement – just as Johnson did. But I don't think you get both – civil rights and the end of Vietnam. That mixture would have brought the Democrats down at the voting booth.

Is there any way the Vietnam War may have been avoided?
Asking anyone to do the right thing back then was difficult. Had Franklin Roosevelt lived, maybe things could have been avoided. He had a guy on his team who was a communist, namely Stalin, and Roosevelt was not a fan of European colonialism. So he may have sided with Ho Chi Minh's desire to have an independent Vietnam, free from French rule. Had he lived longer, with all of his clout, I think that is the best chance we would have had to avoid starting a war out there.

Vietnam is now awash with KFC restaurants, Coca-Cola, multiplexes and other examples of American pop culture. So who really won the war?
Well, that is the thing – they are now America's staunch allies. It shows that, first of all, as Sun Tzu said, the best tool to win a war is not always the military. It was American culture that eventually prevailed.

If you look at things like *Rambo* and all these other Hollywood movies that attempted to justify the conflict, it is obvious how much impact it had on the US. But it was just a blip on the radar to the Vietnamese. It cost them many more lives, but it was all part of a bigger struggle for independence.

Today, Vietnam has a huge young generation and this is all ancient history to them. They have moved on, but ironically it is the face of the US they now buy into.

Gulf of Tomkin fabrication
North Vietnamese ships are reported to have fired on a US patroller, the Maddox, in the South China Sea. President Johnson uses the event to justify going to war. Declassified documents later confirmed that no attack happened. **2 August 1964**

The My Lai Massacre
At My Lai, families are raped, tortured and killed by US soldiers. Lieutenant William Calley, who instigated the horror, walks free, but world opinion becomes opposed to 'America's war'.
16 March 1968

Paris Peace Accords
Nixon's government agrees to a cease-fire, with US ground troops and POWs returning home. The reunification of Vietnam is now a matter between the respective Saigon and Hanoi governments.
27 January 1973

Fall of Saigon
The war ends with the North Vietnamese taking Saigon by force and celebrating a reunified country. Ho Chi Minh, who died in 1969, remains a national icon. Saigon is now known as Ho Chi Minh City.
30 April 1975

Tet Offensive
On Vietnamese New Year, the North surprises the South with a sudden offensive. The city of Hue witnesses extensive fighting. South Vietnam and its allies suffer drastic losses.
30 January - 3 March 1968

Ho Chi Minh at the UN
Ho Chi Minh gives a rousing speech at the UN, but with the new Korea becoming an international trading partner, Western nations side with the US on Vietnamese reunification.
December 1956

Gulf of Tomkin fabrication
Johnson, respecting Kennedy's opposition to communism in Asia and Latin America, fabricates the Gulf of Tonkin incident to justify entering the war in Vietnam.
2 August 1964

Failed Tet Offensive
The North Vietnamese conduct a failed attempt to take Saigon, Hue and other cities in South Vietnam. Forewarned about the attack, the US Army quickly repels their enemies.
30 January - 14 February 1968

Free elections
Pressured into elections, US fears come true and Ho Chi Minh becomes president of Vietnam. However, believing this would expose the South Vietnamese to communist rule, the Eisenhower government argues the elections were fixed.
January 1956

Fixed elections?
President Eisenhower releases a statement claiming that, "After an extensive CIA investigation we can reveal the elections in Vietnam were rigged." South Vietnam is to continue with a 'democratic' regime headed by an interim coalition of allied countries. **March 1956**

Kennedy's speech
Concluding with how close the world came to nuclear war during the Cuban Missile Crisis, President Kennedy affirms that all communist countries must be treated as rogue states. Military involvement is increased heavily in Vietnam.
October 1962

Cambodia's involvement
The White House offers to supply Cambodia's Communist Party of Kampuchea guerrilla fighters in aid and arms if they can offer the US details of the Ho Chi Minh trail supply route. The deal is only revealed decades later.
August 1967

Fall of Hanoi
On Ho Chi Minh's birthday, the North Vietnam capital collapses under the military might of the US army. The war is over. China becomes so concerned that Mao immediately agrees to a trade pact with Coca-Cola.
19 May 1968

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What if...

The Soviets had won the Space Race?

How would modern space exploration be different if the Soviets had been first on the Moon?

INTERVIEW WITH... DR CHRISTOPHER RILEY

Dr Riley is a writer and filmmaker who specialises in science, space, engineering and history. He has worked on numerous documentaries including *In The Shadow Of The Moon*, *First Orbit* and *Neil Armstrong – First Man On The Moon*. You can follow him on Twitter @alifeofriley.

What if the Soviets had won the Space Race?
I think they would have perhaps established some kind of permanent lunar base in the way they colonised Earth orbit [in the Seventies and Eighties]. It might have been that they continued to run with a presence on the Moon instead of just sort of going there for a few days and coming back and then never returning, as essentially what has happened now. However, you've got to imprint upon the effect that the break up of the Soviet Union had on the space programme. That really caused a massive underinvestment, which might have ultimately led to any lunar base being abandoned – and we'd be back where we are today.

Did the successful launch of the Soviet Union's Sputnik 1 in 1957, the first man-made satellite in space, inspire America to reach for the Moon?
Oh yes, undoubtedly. The 'Sputnik effect', as it's called, was a significant player in ensuring that Apollo succeeded. President Eisenhower commissioned the Saturn V rocket and he boosted brainpower by investing in universities. I think Apollo made America smarter for that period – and the legacy of that was, of course, not just to win the Moon race but the spin-offs that happened. Not least the micro-computing processing revolution and ultimately the Internet, of which the early DARPA [Defense Advanced Research Projects Agency] structures were the forerunner, as they were all wrapped up in the Cold War investments the government had made. We've got our modern society to be thankful for because of that initiative, that 'Sputnik effect'. We're still living off that. It was profound, what Eisenhower did.

When was the moment that the United States took the lead in the Space Race?
The Zonds [Soviet spacecraft] were racing around the Moon unmanned in 1968, so I think you have to point to Apollo 8 [in December 1968], which was this very audacious and perhaps even somewhat reckless mission to pull off. Apollo 8 was previously just an Earth orbit mission, but they instead went straight [around] the Moon on the first Saturn V launch, which was a very, very brave thing to do. Ultimately that bravery, that gamble that they somehow managed to pull off, was the turning point without a doubt.

Was there any other major turning point that happened during the Space Race?
The N1 disaster [the Soviet Moon rocket that failed five times] was obviously a colossal setback. But it wasn't just about booster technology; the Russians easily matched the Saturn V, they were ahead in booster lift for many years. But the clincher was the computing power, that is where the Russians were really falling short.

How far behind were the Russians in terms of their computing power?
While the Russians might have been able to orbit the Moon, it was a far cry from landing on it. The thing that really clinched the success of Apollo, in no uncertain terms, was their computing power. The fact that NASA had invested significant amounts of money in the manufacturing of integrated circuits in order to create the micro-computers that were light and small enough to be able to fly on these [Apollo] spacecraft, and make these precise landings on the Moon. The Russians, as far as I'm aware, didn't really have that sort of micro-processing capability in those days. Their systems probably wouldn't have allowed them to really make a successful landing. It wasn't impossible, but it was quite unlikely.

Did the Soviets realise this?
I think they were just sort of gambling on the judgement of their pilots and hoping they could pull it off without this computing power. The Russian approach to spaceflight in the Sixties, both robotic and human, was a little bit of fingers firmly crossed behind your back as they launched. Everybody needed an element of luck; luck goes hand in hand with skill

What if...
THE SOVIETS HAD WON THE SPACE RACE?

With better computer power the Soviets could have won the Space Race and put a man on the Moon

Soviet success in the Space Race could have spurred America into further space exploration and led to man walking on Mars

and engineering when it comes to spaceflight, of course. But the Russians relied on luck a bit more, and the reason I say that is because they essentially ran for all these very quick firsts in human spaceflight in the Sixties. For example, they were the first to put three people in a capsule, and they only did that by depriving them of their pressure suits so they could squeeze them into a two-man capsule. Things like that were clearly a bit reckless with the way they went forward. While they probably were aware that their computing power was inferior to the Americans, I think they just thought they'd wing it and their pilots would hopefully be able to pull [a lunar landing] off just manually.

If they had landed first, how would it have changed the Soviet Union as a whole?

Well you've got to look at how they reacted to Gagarin returning [in April 1961] and Valentina Tereshkova [the first woman in space in June 1963] and the other heroes of spaceflight that placed Russia so high on the world stage. I think a successful returning lunar cosmonaut would have been celebrated and lauded around the world in exactly the same way. If you look at the 'Giant Step' tour that the crew of Apollo 11 went on in the summer of 1969 when they got back, 40 countries in 30 days or something like that, touring the world with millions of people coming out on the street and giving these ticker tape parades wherever they went, you can imagine that absolutely would have happened to the Russians as well. Whether it would have had a material change on the course of Russian history and how their society changed in the Eighties and Nineties, I don't know. It would have been great when it happened in the Sixties, but perhaps it wouldn't have made a big difference in the grand scheme of things.

Which Soviet cosmonaut do you think might have taken the first steps on the Moon?

Alexei Leonov's name often comes up as the first Moon walker, having done the first spacewalk [in March 1965] and contended with those difficulties and survived the mission. I think he likes to think he would have been as well from his writings and interviews since - and I dare say he's right.

Would they still have proclaimed the Moon 'for all mankind' as the Americans did?

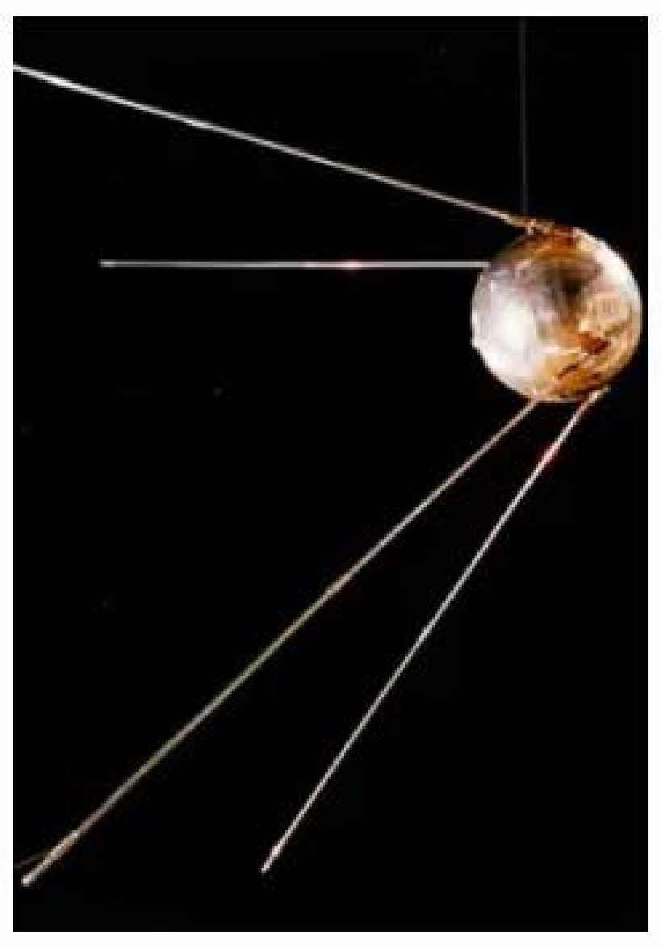
If you listen to Khrushchev's speeches at the time, they were all about how Gagarin's flight was for everybody. The whole point was it was a gift to the world and it was Russia's great gift to human history, so they would have, I'm sure, done the same thing [on the Moon]. Whether they'd have taken a UN flag, which was proposed initially for the Americans to fly rather than the stars and stripes, or whether they'd have planted their own hammer and sickle I don't know. I suspect

How would it be different?

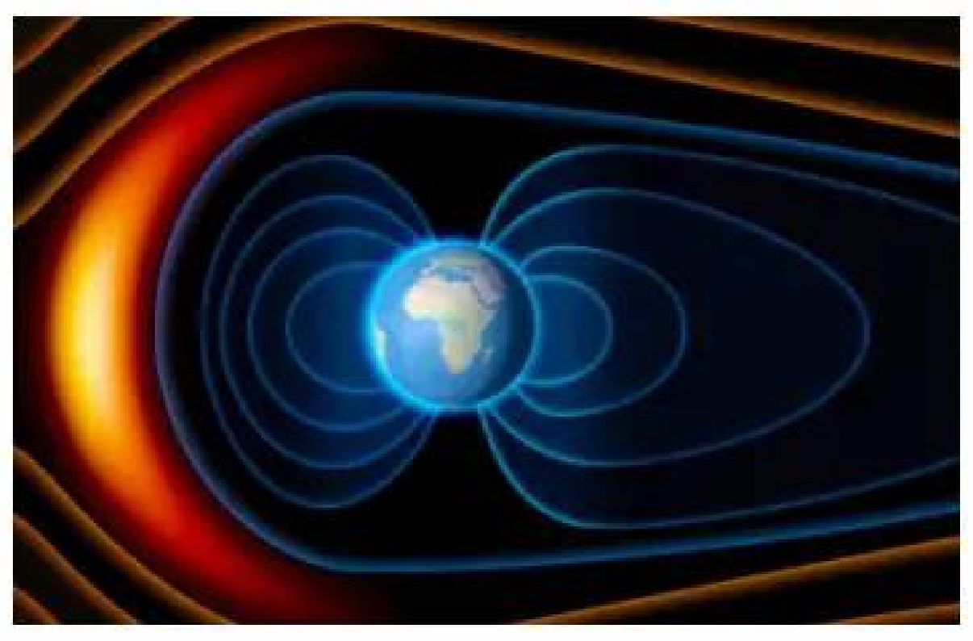
Real timeline

1957

First artificial satellite in space
To the shock of the United States and the wider world, the Soviet Union successfully launches an unmanned satellite, known as Sputnik 1, into space.
4 October 1957



Explorer 1
America strikes back at the Soviet Union with its own artificial satellite, Explorer 1. This satellite then discovered the Van Allen radiation belts that surround Earth.
31 January 1958



Eisenhower boosts brainpower
In a bid to prevent the US from falling behind the Soviet Union, President Eisenhower introduces the National Defense Education Act (NDEA) to increase education funding.
2 September 1958

First human in space
The Soviets get another first, this time sending the first human into space, Yuri Gagarin, just weeks before the US launches their own Alan Shepard.
12 April 1961

Saturn V launches
NASA's huge Saturn V rocket that will be used for the Apollo missions passes its first test flight with flying colours.
9 November 1967

Apollo 8
NASA must make a decision whether to send Apollo 8 on a manned or an unmanned flight around the Moon.
1968

Real timeline

Manned Apollo 8 launches
The three-man crew of Apollo 8 successfully launches and orbits the Moon, paving the way for a manned lunar landing.
21 December 1968

Alternate timeline

Unmanned Apollo 8 launches
The US launch Apollo 8 as an unmanned mission, delaying any eventual manned lunar landing, and allowing the Soviets to catch up.
21 December 1968

> "The International Space Station was largely conceived and built to justify the Space Shuttle, so we probably wouldn't have gone down that route"

they would have planted their own flag, but their speeches and plaques that they unveiled I'm sure would have had the same sentiments [as Gagarin's flight].

What might their first words on the Moon have been?
Well, [Neil] Armstrong was given complete freedom, as were all of the previous crews of Apollo 8. They decided what they would read or speak, and no one intervened. In fact, while Armstrong had obviously given it a lot of thought, he had a number of options from what his mother told me last year and he made his final decision as to what was going to be said when he was going down the ladder. I think with the Russians, knowing a bit about how their society worked at the time, it would have been very carefully written. There's a speech that Gagarin makes before he climbs in the rocket [on the first spaceflight in April 1961] and it's beautifully and poetically sculpted in terms of its message to the world, and it was completely written for him by the central government. I think it would have been a similar sort of speech that would have been written for the first lunar cosmonaut.

Do you think that a successful lunar landing, broadcast to the world, would have prevented the eventual collapse of the Soviet Union?
No, I don't. If you look at what it did to America, they won this race and very quickly the country got sick of spending money, and within a few missions after Apollo 11 the programme was cancelled. The political direction afterwards, both in positive and negative terms, was not really influenced by the success of Apollo, perhaps sadly. So I suspect in Russia it would have been exactly the same. They would have had this time that they carried on running their bases, maybe on the Moon as we've talked about, certainly building a space station in Earth orbit, until effectively politics and perhaps society and the rest of the world overwhelmed them.

Would the US have tried to one-up the Soviet Union by attempting to go to Mars?
It's nice to imagine that the race could have hurdled us down the Solar System to further away, and there's some sort of validity in that the Cold War had continued to sabre-rattle its way into the Nineties. Would America have gone even further to prove a point? It's possible. Remember Spiro Agnew, the vice president at the time Apollo 11 left for the Moon, said they were going to be on Mars by 1980! So there were plenty of plans; [American rocket scientist] von Braun's bottom draw had loads of concepts in it for adapting and modifying Apollo configurations to send them further. It's a lovely thought to imagine that with Apollo hardware, you could have actually had a human footprint on Mars by now.

Would they have succeeded?
I don't know. I mean, it took four million human years to put those 12 Americans on the Moon - the work of 400,000 people for a decade. I think you could have multiplied that by 100, maybe 1,000, to land on Mars. It would have been very difficult to do, and it still remains so.

How would modern space exploration be different if the Soviets had been first on the Moon?
If - and this is an enormous if, and not one I think likely - the Russians had got to the Moon first and the Americans had gone to Mars, I think we would have skipped the space station stage as it were. The [International Space Station] was largely conceived and built to justify the Space Shuttle, so we probably wouldn't have gone down that route. We would have just been pushing the frontier of human footprints across the Solar System, on and on. I think if we'd become as advanced as we are now, and then changed this mindset from racing to collaborating as a community, we'd again be looking at a sort of equivalent to the space station - a laboratory, but somewhere on the Moon or Mars instead, rather than in Earth orbit. It would have ultimately been a completely different picture from the years of shuttle flights and space stations that we've lived through instead.

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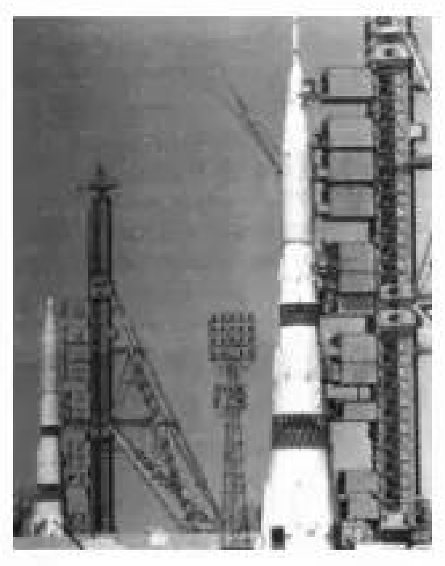
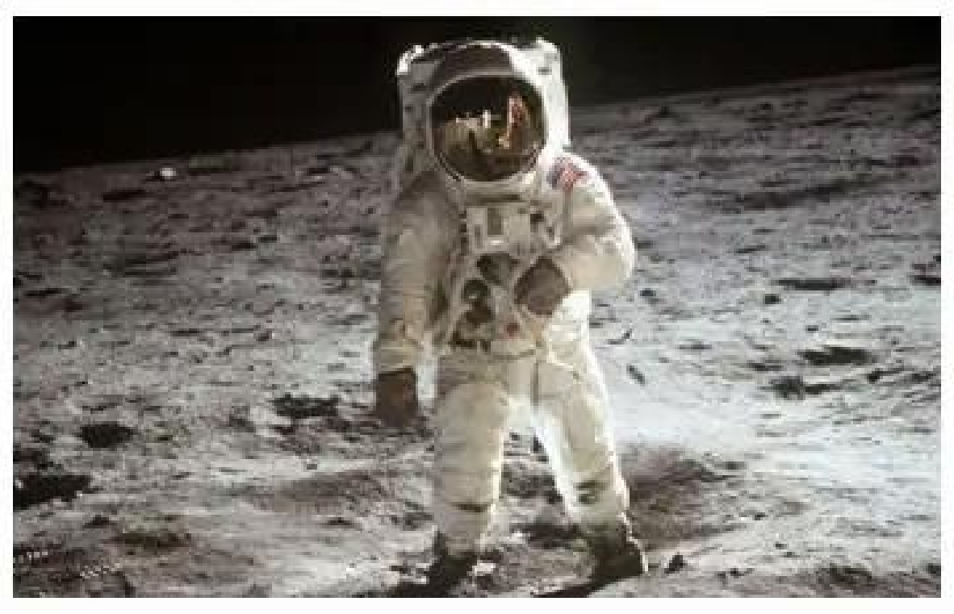
The Soviets fall behind
The Soviet Union's answer to the Saturn V, the N1 rocket, explodes on its first launch and fails a further three times by 1972.
21 February 1969



A giant leap for mankind
Neil Armstrong and Buzz Aldrin become the first humans to set foot on the Moon on the Apollo 11 mission, winning the Space Race for the US. Five more occur by 1972.
20 July 1969



Space stations
By the Eighties both the United States and Soviet Union (later Russia) have focused much of their efforts on space stations and missions to Earth orbit.
1980

International Space Station
The US, Russia and other nations continue to collaborate and operate the International Space Station in Earth orbit, but no humans have ventured further since 1972.
2013

Soviets aim for the Moon
Buoyed by the stagnation in the American lunar programme, the Soviets ramp up their efforts to send humans to the Moon, culminating in a successful test of their N1 rocket.
1969

Soviet landing
While the US debates the future of Apollo, the Soviets stun the world again by sending a single cosmonaut, Alexei Leonov, on a daring mission to the lunar surface, from which he returns a hero.
July 1969

America shoots for Mars
Still reeling from the Soviet Space Race victory, America attempts to one-up the Soviets, announcing their intentions to land humans on Mars. They ultimately succeed in doing this in 1980.
1970

Space colonisation
After four decades of exploration – and thanks to the collapse of the Soviet Union – the US, Russia and other nations collaborate on human exploration endeavours throughout the Solar System.
2013

What if…
The Cuban Missile Crisis had escalated?

The path to World War III could have been set if the United States had invaded Cuba

INTERVIEW WITH… DR ERIC SWEDIN

Dr Eric Swedin is an associate professor in the History department at Weber State University in Utah, US. He is the author of numerous books including *When Angels Wept: A What-If History Of The Cuban Missile Crisis*, which won the 2010 Sidewise Award in Alternate History, and *Survive The Bomb: The Radioactive Citizen's Guide To Nuclear Survival*. He also teaches courses on both modern and historical civilisation.

What would have happened if the Cuban Missile Crisis had escalated into nuclear war?

I think that if the US had chosen to bomb and invade Cuba, it would not have worked out how they expected because there were tactical nukes on the island that they weren't aware of. It looks like, historically, the Soviet commander [on Cuba] had launch authority, and he probably would have used those missiles and that would have shocked the Americans. It could have easily escalated into an exchange of weapons.

The only thing that could have stopped this is if the Soviets realised how small their strategic forces were – [in terms of the] weapons they could hit the US with. America had an enormous arsenal of munitions that could be used.

Hopefully sanity would have prevailed, but often people get caught up in the situation and I think they could easily have gone on to a general war. In a general war the Soviet Union would have been obliterated. I mean, strategic forces on the side of the US were so strong, so I think the US would have survived the war. Now I'm only talking about 1962; if this war had happened several years later then the US would not have survived as a viable entity, because one of the major knock-on effects of the Cuban Missile Crisis was that the Soviets enormously increased their strategic forces and, within a decade, were on parity with the US.

What was the major turning point in the crisis?

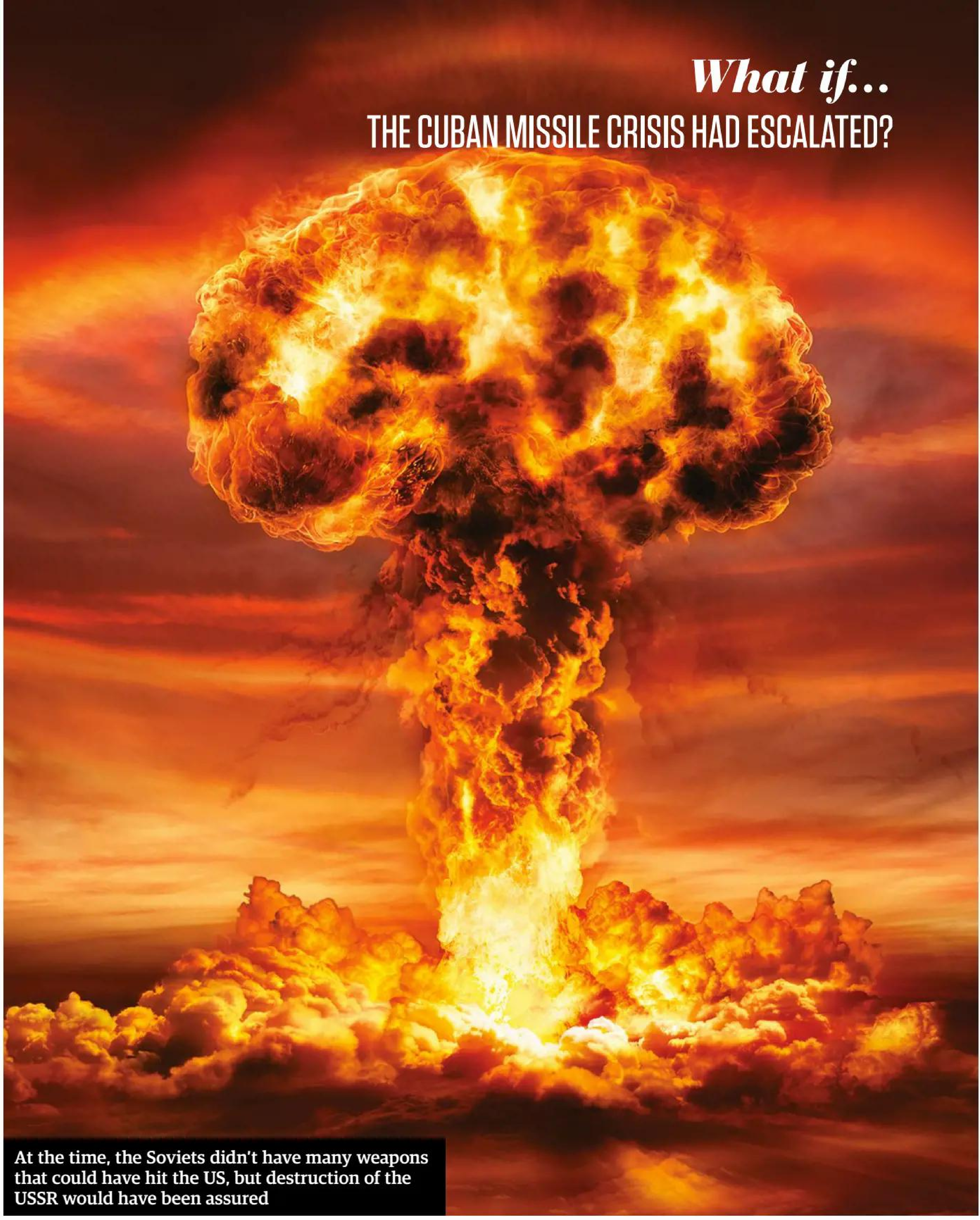
From the revelations after the fall of the Soviet Union with historians being able to look at Soviet military records it's now apparent that, as soon as Kennedy announced the quarantine [a naval blockade on Cuba], Nikita Khrushchev immediately started taking steps to back down.

He stopped the ships that were carrying the missiles towards Cuba, so they did not push on and go 'eyeball to eyeball'. However, the Americans didn't realise that at the time because they weren't getting good intelligence on where exactly the ships were at sea. So Khrushchev really started to back down, but it could easily have still stumbled into war because they didn't have a good mechanism for communicating; the hotline [installed between the two leaders' offices after the crisis] didn't exist at this point.

If the crisis had escalated into all-out war, what would have happened first in your opinion?

I think they would have been stumbling into war in gradual escalation. In this scenario, the US bombs and invades Cuba. That's exactly what the military leadership in the US wanted to do. And if they had invaded, [a US city] would almost certainly have been hit by a nuke from the Soviets, killing tens of thousands of Americans.

At that point the invasion [of Cuba] is defeated, the Americans are stunned, and a US response would have been required. There would have been a substantial amount of uncertainty and fear about what the Soviets already had on the island, and I think that the US would have felt justified in using tactical and strategic nuclear weapons. We can be fairly sure that they would have unfortunately obliterated Cuba.



At the time, the Soviets didn't have many weapons that could have hit the US, but destruction of the USSR would have been assured

How would the war have played out?
Soviet forces had about 100 tactical nukes, and I think that once [Cuba had been destroyed] the Soviet Union – in order [to save face] and maintain its international prestige – would have wanted to retaliate. They could have done this by taking Berlin with conventional forces, or they could have prepared to attack Europe or other places where there was tension. And this tit for tat – this unwillingness to be seen as compromising or backing down and trying to force the submission of the foe – would have been even more reckless.

People's emotions quickly get caught up in these things; they don't always make rational choices, and they don't always back down even if that's in their own best interests. [One such scenario could have been] that one of the Soviet light bombers dropped a bomb on New Orleans in Louisiana, where there was an infantry division embarking for the invasion of Cuba. With an American city destroyed at that point the world would sort of teeter [on the brink of war] and the Soviets would recognise very well that they were completely outgunned. Their number of strategic weapons was dramatically short compared to the Americans and they would feel the need to go for it [all guns blazing], because otherwise they're not going to get in any blows if they don't attack immediately.

"One thing we almost certainly would never have seen was a man walk on the Moon, as that was driven by Cold War rivalry"

How much of an advantage did the Americans have?
The Soviets had 26 ICBMs [intercontinental ballistic missiles] – rockets that can be launched from the Soviet Union and hit the US – and they had none of their submarine-launched ballistic missiles at sea because all their submarines were in port; they were being worked on because they had problems with their nuclear reactors. And they had about 100 bombers that could reach the US. The US had 204 ICBMs, submarine-launched missiles at sea, almost 1,500 strategic bombers and they had enormous other forces. We're not even talking about something close to parity – we're talking about overwhelming power at that point because the Americans had been building up all through the 1950s driven by bad intelligence on how the Soviets had built up. Khrushchev before the Cuban Missile Crisis had wanted to spend money on the civilian economy, so he had been cutting the military budget. The Soviets reversed course after the Cuban Missile Crisis, though, spending a tremendous amount on strategic forces.

Do you think it would have been a case of mutually assured destruction (MAD)?
It sounds horrible, but certainly the Soviet Union would have been destroyed. And Europe would have been largely

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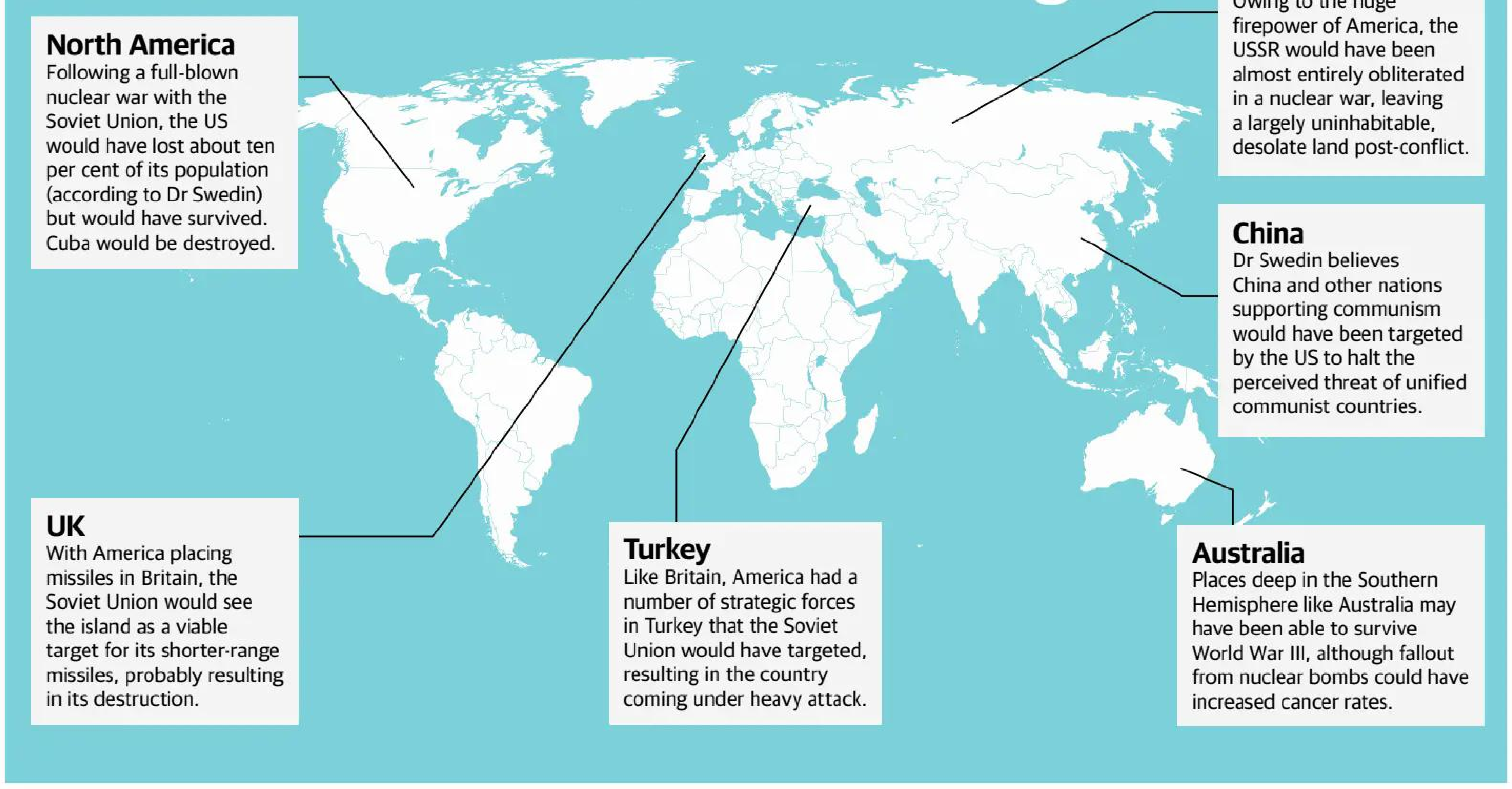
How the nuclear war would have gone



North America
Following a full-blown nuclear war with the Soviet Union, the US would have lost about ten per cent of its population (according to Dr Swedin) but would have survived. Cuba would be destroyed.

Soviet Union
Owing to the huge firepower of America, the USSR would have been almost entirely obliterated in a nuclear war, leaving a largely uninhabitable, desolate land post-conflict.

China
Dr Swedin believes China and other nations supporting communism would have been targeted by the US to halt the perceived threat of unified communist countries.

UK
With America placing missiles in Britain, the Soviet Union would see the island as a viable target for its shorter-range missiles, probably resulting in its destruction.

Turkey
Like Britain, America had a number of strategic forces in Turkey that the Soviet Union would have targeted, resulting in the country coming under heavy attack.

Australia
Places deep in the Southern Hemisphere like Australia may have been able to survive World War III, although fallout from nuclear bombs could have increased cancer rates.

destroyed because the Soviets had a substantial number of ever-shorter range weapons that could have been used on Europe; it's just they didn't have a lot of weapons that could hit the US.

I think the US could have been hit with enough weapons to kill maybe about ten per cent of the population, but I think it would have been survivable. This was before [the time] people started putting their ICBMs into deep silos, so most of the explosions would have been airbursts as opposed to ground-bursts. That would have dramatically reduced the amount of fallout.

I think there were still substantial ecological consequences besides all the immediate destruction, but I don't think it would have been nuclear winter. Five years later, yes, it would have been because when you were trying to destroy the other country's missiles in the ground – when they're in deep silos – you're going to do ground-bursts to try and destroy them, not airbursts which the silos were designed to withstand.

People don't realise that there's a big difference between exploding a nuke in the atmosphere above a target and exploding it by letting it hit the ground. If you detonate it in the air, like over Hiroshima and Nagasaki [during World War II], you maximise your immediate blast effects, but you minimise your fallout. On the other hand, when you aim them at the ground you actually don't get as many blast effects except in the immediate area, but you maximise your fallout. And when I'm talking about minimise and maximise, we're talking about orders of thousands of percentage in magnitude between the two types [of explosion].

Would Europe have got involved in the conflict, and would it have led to World War III?

I think it would have been World War III. We don't know exactly what the Soviet operating plan was, but we do know the US plan because parts of it have been declassified. The SIOP [Single Integrated Operational Plan] was [an outline] of what targets to hit during a general nuclear war.

The US would have attacked China because at that time they saw communism – even though it was changing – as a monolithic whole. Eastern Europe and other communist countries would have been hit for this reason too.

The plan did not allow for a lot of modifications; it was designed to maximise the efficiency and the use of the weapons, and assuming the Soviets had a similar plan they would have also tried to destroy American forces and US allies. One of the causes contributing to the crisis was the shorter-range US Jupiter and Thor missiles in Turkey and Britain. At the very least, those would have been considered completely legitimate targets.

In a general nuclear war Europe would not have been able to avoid being embroiled – officially as targets rather than

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How would it be different?

Real timeline

1959

Castro comes to power in Cuba
Fidel Castro is sworn in as the prime minister of Cuba following the Cuban revolution and breaks ties with the US in favour of the Soviet Union.
16 February 1959

Bay of Pigs invasion
A counterrevolutionary military trained by the CIA to overthrow Castro fails in three days. In February 1962 the US announces an embargo on Cuba, which drives the communist nation to strengthen ties with the USSR.
17 April 1961

Cuba armed with nuclear weapons
The Soviet Union – partially in response to the US placing missiles in Turkey – begins building missile facilities in Cuba capable of launching nuclear weapons at the US.
August 1962

The US discovers weapons on Cuba
After a U-2 spy plane flying over western Cuba finds missile sites, the US begins considering both diplomatic and military actions.
14 October 1962

Naval blockade of Cuba
Following consideration of an invasion, President Kennedy instead opts to 'quarantine' Cuba with a naval blockade to prevent any more Soviet ships from reaching the island.
21 October 1962

Real timeline

Alternate timeline

acting participants striking back. It was just the nature of the time period.

What state would the world be in today?
I think you would have had substantial damage to the ozone layer and the Northern Hemisphere. You would have seen the complete collapse of the countries, societies and economies of all of Europe and the Soviet Union. I think the US would have survived, but I think they probably would have drawn inwards since their foes were gone. You may have seen the Southern Hemisphere flourish because there would have been a lot less fallout and effects down there.

We almost certainly would not have seen a man walk on the Moon, as that was driven by Cold War rivalry. With no war, the US would not have been spending its money on the Apollo project – it would have been spending money on trying to rebuild its country. The enormous loss of the population would have been dramatic too. Continuing effects from radiation would have caused higher cancer rates in the north and probably the south too.

Could this situation ever happen again?
We always hope that things like this won't happen. Since the end of the Cold War both the Soviets [now the Russians] and the Americans have dramatically built down their strategic forces. They're no longer on trigger alert towards each other like they were during the Cold War.

I think the most likely scenario that we'd see is the use of a dirty bomb, a rogue nuke, or a smaller nuke, and I think it would be similar to 9/11 except on a dramatically vaster scale. That being said, I can also see India descending into war, and I can easily see Pakistan losing some of its weapons and those falling into the hands of non-state actors and being used. I personally expect in my lifetime to see another nuclear weapon used, and it's going to be a terrorist group or non-state actor setting it off.

> "A US city would almost certainly have been hit by a nuke from the Soviets, killing tens of thousands of Americans"

The US goes to DEFCON 2
All Soviet ships en route to Cuba either slow down or reverse. The following day the US raises its military alertness to DEFCON 2, the highest level in American history.
24 October 1962

Khrushchev's proposal
Soviet Chairman Khrushchev sends a letter to President Kennedy proposing that Soviet missiles will be removed from Cuba if the US agrees never to invade the island.
26 October 1962

The crisis ends
Khrushchev convinces Kennedy that the U-2 shooting was not under his authority. Kennedy accepts and a deal is reached to withdraw Soviet weapons from Cuba, while the US agrees not to invade and withdraws its missiles from Turkey.
28 October 1962

Invasion of Cuba
The US decides on a militaristic approach. On this day they attempt another invasion of Cuba in order to seize the weapons on the island. The US military alertness is raised to DEFCON 1.
25 October 1962

U-2 shot down
An American U-2 plane is shot down over Cuba, under the lone authority of a Soviet commander on the island, and its pilot Major Rudolf Anderson is killed. Tensions between the US and Soviet Union strain and nuclear war seems inevitable.
27 October 1962

Aftermath
90 per cent of the US survives the nuclear war, but much of the rest of the Northern Hemisphere lies in ruins. Places deep in the Southern Hemisphere survive. Eventually, nuclear winter takes hold of large parts of the world, leaving parts uninhabitable.
1963

Diplomatic negotiations cease
As the world teeters on the brink of a third World War, any hopes of a diplomatic resolution between the US and Soviet Union are quashed.
24 October 1962

First nuclear missile launched
The Soviet commander on Cuba, under his own authority, launches a tactical nuke against the US. America is stunned and immediately begins preparations for a nuclear war.
26 October 1962

World War III begins
The Soviet Union invades Berlin and fires upon targets in both the US and Europe, but the overwhelming firepower of the Americans makes the outcome of the war almost inevitable.
November 1962

Obliteration
The US strikes Cuba, the Soviet Union and other communist states with its full might. Ultimately, Cuba and the Soviet Union are obliterated, along with much of Europe as the USSR retaliates.
December 1962

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What if…
JFK hadn't been assassinated?

How would world history have changed if the 35th president of the United States had lived?

INTERVIEW WITH… JEFF GREENFIELD

Award-winning US television journalist Jeff Greenfield has worked for CNN, ABC News and CBS as well as writing for *Time Magazine*, *The New York Times* and *The Los Angeles Times* in a career spanning more than 30 years. He has also written or co-authored 13 books, including the best-seller *If Kennedy Lived: The First and Second Terms Of President John F Kennedy.*

What would have happened if JFK hadn't been assassinated in Dallas in 1963?

It's entirely possible that if Kennedy had survived that his vice president, Lyndon Johnson, would have been forced out of public life. The day Kennedy was shot in Dallas there were two different investigations into Lyndon Johnson's finances. One on Capitol Hill by a Senate committee that had alleged he had taken kickbacks and the other by *Life Magazine*, which at the time was one of the most important publications in America. It asked how a man who had been on the public payroll all his life could accumulate so much money. Now, when Kennedy was killed, these came to an instant end because nobody was interested in further shocking an already traumatised nation.

Had Kennedy survived, the impulse would have been accelerated to figure out what was up with this guy who after all, would have remained a heartbeat, as they say, away from the White House. So I think the first consequence was that Lyndon Johnson would have been forced out of public life by a scandal and there's a very good chance of that.

Would the Cold War and tensions with the Soviet Union have escalated in the same way if Kennedy had survived two terms?

The thing I would stress is that a lot of people look at the way Kennedy ran for president, very hawkish, very militant and in his inaugural speech he said would pay any price, bear any burden. But they failed to recognise how much the Cuban missile crisis had affected him. It's pretty clear that he and Khrushchev [Former General Secretary of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union] had come close to presiding over a nuclear holocaust, it dramatically changed the way he looked at the world. That's when he began looking for common ground with the Soviet Union: a test-ban treaty, possibly other steps to turn down the temperature of the Cold War.

How would the Vietnam War been affected?

In terms of an international scandal, the big debate was of course the war in Vietnam. Here you're dealing in probabilities: when you do alternate history – at least when I do it – is get as close as possible to what the players said and thought at the time when you take history down a different path. The evidence is, during the fall of 1963, Kennedy had realised that Vietnam was a losing proposition. He had carelessly authorised – or didn't stop – a coup that had put new people in charge of South Vietnam. He saw this as a situation that violated a fundamental belief of his about committing large numbers of Americans to a land war in Asia. He had always said to people that he wanted to disengage but he couldn't do it until he was re-elected in 1964 – the politics wouldn't let him. He would have been accused of being soft on communism. My best guess is that he would have played for time in 1964, tried to keep the status quo and tried to keep any incidents from arising. I think that the Gulf of Tonkin incident [two separate confrontations involving North Vietnam and the United States around the Gulf of Tonkin] would never have happened. He would have been confronted in 1964 with a possible incident in the Gulf of Tonkin, but he certainly never would have asked congress for the blank cheque that Johnson sought.

My best guess is that he would not have moved the way Johnson did, very quickly and secretly to increase the American commitment. I think we would have been spared a war in Vietnam. And if we had been, the cultural clash in the US would have been very different in the late 1960s. We would have drugs, we would have had sex, we would have had long hair… we wouldn't have had a group of protestors who saw in Vietnam proof that the country was not thrown on the wrong course, but it was somehow malicious… to use George Bush's term 'a kind of general protest movement.'

Do you think that he would have become more of an icon for that generation?

Interestingly enough I think not – or less so. Because it was his death, his martyrdom, that made him such an icon. I think that wouldn't have been the case, because when you take someone violently off the scene at his peak, he becomes idolised. I think he would have [become more involved in] public service, domestic Peace Corps, stuff like that: I think that would have been accelerated, because that was something

© Sara Biddle

If John F Kennedy hadn't been assassinated, his legacy might not be as positive as it is today

> "By the time he would have served a second term no one knows how his health would have been"

If JFK had served a second term, the US might have become less involved in the Vietnam War

he was very passionate about. On the other hand, the other thing that was a danger when he went to Dallas was that his private life was being looked at very carefully by some members of the press. The idea that nobody knew, that it was a different era was true, but you had some very significant investigative reporters who were sniffing around Kennedy's private life. I think he and his brother Robert would have worked very hard to keep that secret. Maybe they would have succeeded - we forget how tough-minded he could be back then in terms of intimidating the press with threats of hack investigations and anti-trust. But I think enough would have leaked out to have an impact on his reputation. Not dying at 46 [years old] means the martyrdom and idolisation wouldn't have happened.

JFK's relationship with Marilyn Monroe is legendary today. Do you think the US would have experienced something akin to the Clinton scandal?

I tell you what would have been different: I asked some people whether Kennedy could have survived this scandal - they said "of course not." The cultural climate of the US in [the early-1960s] compared to the 1990s was just radically different. In 1964 we had a presidential candidate - Nelson Rockefeller - who lost a key presidential primary just as his wife gave birth to a baby and it reminded people that he had left his older wife for a younger woman. We had never had a divorced president in 1964 and there was no idea of 'oh well, it's private, everybody plays around a bit.' I think it would have been far more shocking. The culture was only beginning to change by the mid-1960s. So that's why I think they would have had to work so hard to prevent the story from becoming public. It was just a different time completely.

How long do you think Jackie would have endured it?

What Jackie might do is create a kind of informal separation, "I'm going to New York, I'm setting up my own life, we're not going to divorce or anything but I'm finding my own way." I have no way of knowing, but I do think she would have tried to make a life for herself. You forget that when Jackie was first lady, she was 31 years old - breathtakingly young. So you're talking about a woman now, not quite reaching her 40th year and she's stood by her husband. But she doesn't have to do

© Alamy and Getty

How would it be different?

Real timeline

1952

JFK is elected to the Senate
After eight years in the House of Representatives, Kennedy wins the 1952 election for a seat in the Senate. He marries Jacqueline Lee Bouvier the following year.
4 November 1952

Kennedy becomes president
A well-organised campaign and support from Lyndon B Johnson sees Kennedy defeat Republican candidate Richard Nixon in the presidential election, to become the 35th president of the United States of America.
8 November 1960

Peace Corps created
Executive Order 10924 establishes this volunteer US programme to promote relations between America and the rest of the world.
1 March 1961

Start of the Cuban missile crisis
A CIA spy plane takes photographs of ballistic missile sites being built in Cuba by the Soviets. Kennedy reacts by creating a naval quarantine that inspects all Soviet ships arriving at Cuba.
14 October 1962

Concerns about Vietnam
In his assessment of the Vietnam situation, Kennedy says: "We don't have a prayer of staying in Vietnam [...] They are going to throw our asses out [...] but I can't give up that territory to the communists and get the American people to re-elect me."
April 1963

JFK assassinated
While visiting Dallas, Texas, riding in an open-top car, Kennedy is shot three times: once in the head, once in the back and once in the neck, dying from his wounds.
22 November 1963

Real timeline

Alternate timeline

The March on Washington for Jobs and Freedom in 1962 was an important moment for civil rights, but JFK's record on this issue wasn't as strong as his successor's would be

that any more because he's not running for anything, so I do think she would have tried to find a life for herself, with or without Kennedy.

We also don't know what his health was like. Someone asked him: "Why are you running for president?" in 1960, "You're so young." He said: "I don't know what my health is going to be like in eight years." He suffered from all kinds of ailments: he had Addison's disease, he had horrible intestinal problems, he apparently had an untreated venereal disease, the combination of drugs he was taking for Addison's and his injury from the war made his back [ache], just agony. One historian praises him for his sheer raw courage going through a day, given what he had. But by the time he would have served a second term and in his early 50s, no one knows how his health would have been.

JFK pushed for the Civil Rights Act – his death was a kind of catalyst for the 1964 act. Would it have been legislated as quickly if it weren't for his assassination?

Here I think Johnson's success would not have been equalled by Kennedy, for a couple of reasons: Johnson used him and his death as a very powerful emotional lever to get those laws through. Second: Johnson was a master of the Senate. He understood how it worked in a way that the Kennedys just didn't. As a southerner, a Texan, he was able to understand the inner workings of the Senate and, following 1964, he had a kind of legislative – or in your terms – parliamentary majority. He actually had the votes in Congress to get it through.

I also think Kennedy wasn't as passionate about Civil Rights. He came to it late and Johnson, even though he was a southerner, had a kind of gut feeling that he could actually do this. That speech Johnson gave, the 'we shall overcome' speech in 1965 is, I believe, an honest assessment of what he wanted. Johnson said to the Congress – I'm paraphrasing: "I always thought as a young man that if I ever had the power to right this wrong, I'd do. I'll let you know a secret: I've got that power and I intend to use it.'

Kennedy was also much more a foreign-policy president. If Kennedy could have avoided the war in Vietnam at the cost of going easy on civil rights, he would have done it. We would have gotten there eventually, but more slowly than it would have happened under Johnson.

> "Johnson was a master of the Senate. He understood how it worked in a way that the Kennedys just didn't"

Warren Report issued
A year after the Warren Commission, which investigates the assassination of JFK, is established, the report is returned to Lyndon Johnson: it concludes that Lee Harvey Oswald and Jack Ruby had acted alone.
24 September 1964

US responds to Gulf of Tonkin incident
The war in Vietnam escalates rapidly as President Johnson uses the authority given to him by Congress to send in ground troops, starting with 3,500 US marines who land in South Vietnam.
8 March 1965

Richard Nixon elected president
Former Vice President Richard Nixon, who ran against JFK in the 1960 election, finally gets his shot at being president. His first term is popular: he negotiates treaties with the Russians, enforces civil rights and he is re-elected in a landslide victory. **5 November 1968**

The Civil Rights Act is legislated
New president Lyndon Johnson uses Kennedy's death as a catalyst to push the Civil Rights Act of 1964 through Congress. The act outlaws discrimination against race, religion, gender, colour or nationality, in schools, work and public facilities. **2 July 1964**

Race riots across the US
The promise of a Civil Rights Act to end discrimination in the US, which never materialises, proves too much for America's black and ethnic communities. Violent and nonviolent protests explode across the States. **1966**

Watergate scandal
President Nixon's popularity takes a downswing early into his second term and, in an effort to fight his opponents, the Nixon administration tries to bug the Democrat headquarters, among other clandestine activities. They are caught and Nixon is forced to resign. **17 June 1972**

Kennedy re-elected
Kennedy runs against Republican Barry Goldwater and wins his second term in the White House in a landslide victory. Charisma and a tough stance against the perceived threat of the Soviet Union wins him over two-thirds of the vote. **3 November 1964**

JFK holds back from Vietnam
Reluctant to commit any kind of force to a 'land war in Asia', the USS Maddox and three Vietnamese torpedo boats enter a standoff in the Gulf of Tonkin, but ultimately nothing happens.
8 March 1965

US-Soviet tensions ease
With JFK holding back from further involvement in Vietnam and avoiding war with the North Vietnamese completely, talks open between the two major players in the Cold War and tensions ease. **1967**

Jackie Kennedy leaves John
After Kennedy's second term ends and Richard Nixon takes his place in the White House, the former first lady feels she has done her duty and informally separates from her unfaithful husband.
5 November 1968

Kennedy dies
JFK is in poor health by the end of his second term. His ailments finally catch up with him and he dies ten years after leaving office.
1978

What if…

Martin Luther King Jr had not been assassinated?

Would he have been able to continue the fight and finally turn his infamous dream into a reality?

INTERVIEW WITH… PROFESSOR PENIEL E JOSEPH

Photo: LBJ Faculty

Peniel is professor of history at the University of Texas at Austin; the Barbara Jordan Chair in Ethics and Political Values; founding director of the Center for the Study of Race and Democracy; and associate dean for Justice, Equity, Diversity, and Inclusion (JEDI) at the LBJ School of Public Affairs. He is author and editor of seven award-winning books, most recently *The Third Reconstruction: America's Struggle for Racial Justice in the Twenty-First Century*, in addition to *The Sword and the Shield: The Revolutionary Lives of Malcolm X and Martin Luther King Jr.*

From the early 1960s the fight against oppression, inequalities, injustices, and discrimination in the lives of Black and other non-white American citizens gathered pace, spearheaded by Martin Luther King Jr. Through his passionate, charismatic and measured public speaking – and courageous acts of passive defiance – the US, and the world, were beginning to listen. Undaunted by abuse, prejudice, ridicule and even imprisonment, his influence and determination to right the wrongs of America's tainted history opened the door to those at the very pinnacle of power, only for a life of such promise to be callously cut short. But what if there had been more time? With more years what might have been achieved to change America, and the world, for the better?

How do you think King's political influence might have grown? What alliances could have been formed, and would he have entered politics more directly, perhaps for specific office?

Martin Luther King Jr's political influence was indeed growing in the spring of 1968 as he prepared a Poor People's Campaign to occupy Washington, DC. King gathered a coalition of Black, LatinX, Asian, Indigenous, and white Americans to demand a guaranteed income, living wage, freedom from hunger, poverty, racism, and violence. Dr. King's anti-poverty and anti-racist organising dovetailed into his anti-war and anti-violence efforts. His credibility with young people, international anti-colonial leaders and organisers, and Black Power activists made him an increasingly formidable figure. On the eve of his assassination, King spoke at a rally in support of 1,100 Black sanitation workers who were on strike for a living wage and safe working conditions. Labour became another pillar of a coalition King forged with sharecroppers in the Deep South, welfare rights and anti-poverty activists in places like New York and Chicago, Mexican-American farmworkers, some connected to Cesar Chavez's movement, and poor white from Appalachia. King would not have ever formally entered politics, although people implored him to run for president or vice president on an anti-war ticket in 1968. His political influence would have continued to grow, and his support would have aided a Democratic presidential nominee, perhaps Bobby Kennedy or Hubert Humphrey in the general election.

How might race relations in the United States have been different if King had lived?

Race relations would have been different if King had lived to the extent that he would, into the 1970s, 1980s, and 1990s, become a global political mobiliser in the age of neoliberal austerity ushered in under the Nixon, Ford, Carter, Reagan, Bush, Clinton eras. King might have been able to become the leader of a multiracial, although primarily Black led, movement for social justice that kept issues of Black radical citizenship – not just civil rights and voting rights, but a living wage, food justice, equitable and racially integrated schools and neighbourhood, the end of police violence and state-sanctioned brutality and premature Black death. In many ways, the issues of abolition advocated by the Black Lives Matter movement – ending mass incarceration, replacing systems of punishment with investments in health, wellness, housing, education, transportation, and environmental justice – were all of King's causes and would have become part of the mainstream sooner had he lived. The racial and political reckoning of 2020 might have come sooner with a figure

Main image: Sara Biddle

Despite hopes that King would run for president, he never would have formally entered politics

The Past

1955-59

No Go, Jim Crow

As a result of the 'Jim Crow' laws of the southern US states, which embedded Black segregation into society, in 1955 Rosa Parks is arrested in Montgomery, Alabama, for refusing to give up her seat to a white passenger on a bus. King was instrumental in establishing a 13-month boycott of the buses, with victory finally coming through a Supreme Court ruling that segregation on buses was illegal. King was also establishing a reputation and presence on the world stage. In 1957 he visited the newly formed African nation of Ghana, two years later he travelled to India.

1963-64

The Dream Takes Shape

On 28 August 1963, King plays a central role in the March on Washington for Jobs and Freedom. There are more than 200,000 people in front of the Lincoln Memorial to hear his 'I have a dream' speech. Following this he meets with President John F Kennedy and Vice President Lyndon B Johnson. The pressure from such action will lead to the foundation of the Civil Rights Act in 1964, followed by the Voting Rights Act in 1965. King is declared 'Man of the Year' by *TIME* magazine in 1964. Later the same year, he is awarded the Nobel Peace Prize, stating that every penny of the $54,000 prize money would be dedicated to the struggle for Civil Rights.

1968

An end and a Beginning

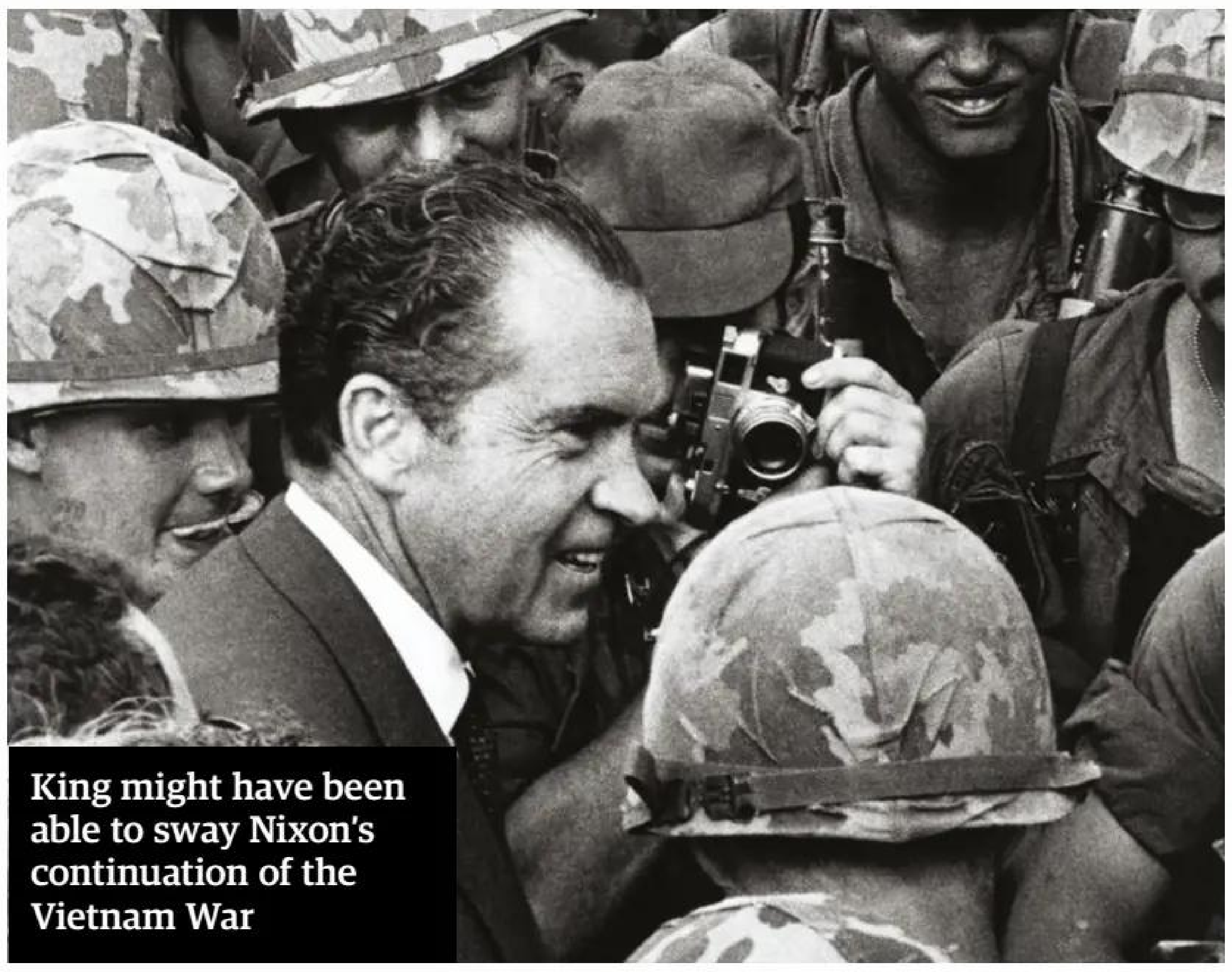
On 29 March 1968, King led a march in support of striking sanitation workers in Memphis. It was while planning another protest for the workers that he was shot dead on 4 April 1968 on the balcony of the Lorraine Motel. News of his death resulted in deaths and riots in cities across America. President Lyndon B Johnson called for a National Day of Mourning to be observed on 7 April, and other events were postponed.

Neither Martin Luther King nor the thousands he inspired could be ignored

like King capable of criticising the nation as he also sought to build consensus around Black citizenship and dignity.

Is it possible that he may have been able to impact on policy towards the Vietnam War?

King's activism impacted Vietnam to the extent that he illustrated the moral rot at the centre of the American Project at a time few, with the exception of Malcolm X who did so as early as 1964, were courageous enough to do so. King might have been able to impact Vietnam policy if Hubert Humphrey or Bobby Kennedy had been elected president in 1968. King might have provided that president with a middle ground between the hawkish continuation of the conflict (which did not end until 1975 and included Nixon's morally reprehensible bombing of Cambodia) and the immediate, complete, and peaceful end to the war that King longed for.



King might have been able to sway Nixon's continuation of the Vietnam War

In what way might he have continued to influence and inspire others around the world and with what possible outcomes?

King's anti-imperialism critique of capitalism, and advocacy of social democracy, would have deeply influenced anti-colonial and indigenous movements for democracy, self-determination and liberation proliferating around the world. King would have been a game-changing environmental justice activist during the 1970s, one who could illustrate the intersectional nature of environmental justice movements, especially the ways in which climate change and environmental injustice impact Black and communities of colour. King would have been against nuclear proliferation, Soviet and Chinese-styled totalitarianism, and been for an equitable peace in the Middle East. He would have strongly urged the freedom of Nelson Mandela and the end of South African apartheid, while calling for the autonomy of African nation-states; freedom for new independent nations in the Caribbean, Central, South, and Latin America; and for humanistic immigration reform in Europe and the US. His example may have hastened global freedom movements and helped to lessen ethnic conflicts and tensions that have led to war and violence.

What ambitions would he have had? Would the Economic Bill of Rights exist?

King's ambitions were to build a Beloved Community free of economic inequality, structural racism, war, and violence. He believed in redistributive justice, which is why he admired Scandinavian countries with their mix of free markets, fair taxes, and broad social safety nets. King would have wanted every American to have guaranteed income, a living wage, decent housing, health care, education, and equitable transportation. King believed in dignity and citizenship for

> "King could have gone toe-to-toe with Richard Nixon and the lies of his presidency"

all people, and he would have pushed for federal guarantees that offered resources to state, municipal, tribal, and other communities to ensure that this occurred.

Legislatively, he would certainly push for an economic bill of rights and might have been able to persuade the Democratic Party of the 1970s not to jettison the Humphrey-Hawkins full employment bill, a proposal that had been an unfulfilled staple of the party for many years. He most certainly would have advocated for an increased minimum wage, the fair treatment of migrant works, the desegregation of skilled labour, and for a robust and multiracial labour movement, one that included the Black folk and Brown folk working the meanest and dirtiest jobs for starvation wages in agriculture, poultry farms, meatpacking industries, as cooks, dishwashers, cleaners, in slaughterhouses, and as sometimes unpaid day labourers.

Given a longer time on the US and world stage, would his legacy be the same or different?

A longer time on the world stage would have afforded King time to build a bigger economic power base for the movement, through a member-based organisational model that relied on poor and working people's struggle for citizenship and dignity to self-fund a global movement for racial and economic justice.

King would have sought the end of poverty and the roll back of the Great Society and would have been a significant enough figure to challenge the FBI's COINTELPRO (Counter Intelligence Program) that led to the murder, arrest, and exile of Black and New Left political activists and organisers. He could have gone toe-to-toe with Richard Nixon and the lies of his presidency and the damage these lies did to the American people's faith in democracy. He would have sparred with Ronald Reagan and the racism behind the "welfare queen" slur and the cuts to social spending while increasing funding for the military, police, and jails. Finally, King could have crafted an alternative vision from the nostalgic dreams of the 1950s (that arose in 1970s in popular culture with the films *American Graffiti* and *Grease*, and the television series Happy Days) that looked toward the present and future and the pursuit of multiracial democracy, rather than fantasies rooted in an era of racial segregation and Jim Crow violence that he unhappily lived through.

Would Martin Luther King Day still exist?

It might not exist as an official holiday. The holiday was produced in the 15 years after King's assassination, thus if he had lived it is safe to say we live in an America too partisan to pass such a holiday again, but who knows? Juneteenth as a national holiday seemed light years away until the climactic events of 2020.

But even without a holiday, King's legacy would have survived, endured and thrived in the minds and hearts of millions of people around the world. Our best example of this is the legacy of Malcolm X, who in so many ways remains King's legacy rival, adversary, and alter ego. Malcolm X has never received a national holiday but is celebrated in film, hip-hop, history books, pamphlets, sound recordings, and so much more. Without the imprimatur of a federal holiday or monument in the nation's capital, King would have still resonated within Black American and global culture as a prophetic figure: the American Apostle who, like the Old Testament prophet Moses, descended upon an unholy land with a kind of biblical force and power capable of bring his people – which he defined as the entire world – to the Promised Land, before being struck down by an assassin whose bullet might have killed the man, but is unable to destroy his dream.

WE MARCH FOR JOBS FOR ALL A DECENT PAY NOW!
WE MARCH FOR INTEGRATED SCHOOLS NOW!
WE MARCH FOR FIRST CLASS CITIZENSHIP NOW!
WE DEMAND AN FEPC LAW NOW!
WE DEMAND EQUAL RIGHTS NOW!
WE DEMAND DECENT HOUSING NOW!
WE MARCH FOR EFFECTIVE CIVIL RIGHTS LAWS NOW
WE MARCH FOR JOBS FOR ALL NOW!
WE DEMAND AN END TO BIAS NOW!

King's passion and honesty made an unequal world question itself

© Alamy images

The Possibility

1969

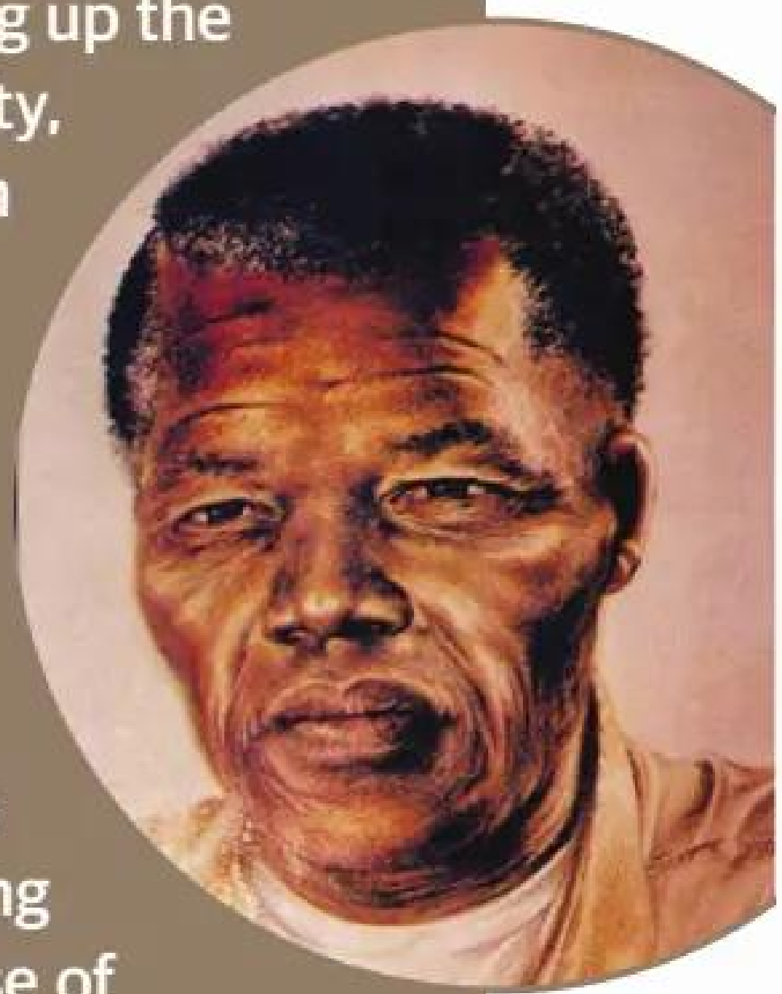
No Chance for Nixon

If King had lived, another Democrat president may have been possible. With King's support for either Kennedy or his fellow Democrat candidate, Hubert Humphrey, the balance may have tipped in their favour. Richard Nixon may never have come into office. The Vietnam War, which King opposed, may have ended far sooner. With no Nixon, and no contest for a second term, Watergate and the threatened impeachment and resignation of a US president would be erased from the history books.

1970s

Early Release

King was passionate about taking his message around the world. With apartheid in South Africa, and Nelson Mandela's imprisonment, it is almost inevitable that King would have used his influence to pressure the South African government for change. With a prominent world figure taking up the cause for equality, the South African government may have conceded defeat sooner. Mandela could have been released earlier to join King in the campaign, bringing the earlier release of Black and Asian citizens of South Africa from the unjust and inhumane historical shackles of apartheid.



1980s

Uniting the World

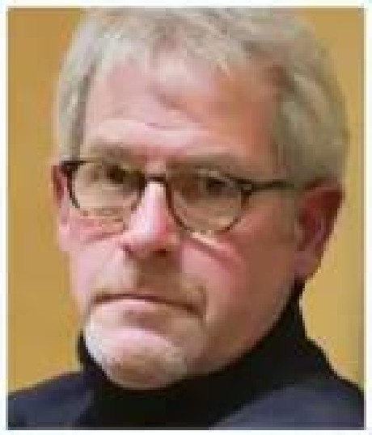
As a Nobel Peace Prize winner, King's global reputation was beyond doubt, gaining the respect of many world leaders. But given more years and more time to build on this, it is just possible that in a position such as the UN high commissioner for human rights, he would be in a position of strength and influence to openly challenge the many areas of inequality and injustice around the world; his drive, strength and voice making the difference needed to make the change. And who knows, Dr Martin Luther King Jr, UN Secretary-General, would not have been as improbable as we might think.

What if...

Robert F Kennedy had become president?

His message of unity promised hope to a divided nation, but was it a promise he would be able to keep?

INTERVIEW WITH... TIM TATE



Tim is a multi-award-winning documentary filmmaker, investigative journalist and author. His 18 books include *The Assassination of Robert F. Kennedy: Crime Conspiracy & Cover Up* (2018). Tim is a Fellow of the Royal Historical Society.

With victory in the California Primary election, Robert F Kennedy became a serious contender for the Democratic presidential nomination. The crush of people listening to his victory speech at the Ambassador Hotel in Los Angeles on 5 June 1968 – many of them young and many of them Black – was testament to the spark of hope he had ignited and the tremors of change rumbling beneath the political status quo. To the delight of supporters and the despair of opponents the prospect of another, very different, Kennedy in the White House was now one step closer.

By 1968 Bobby had truly emerged from his brother's shadow

© Alamy

What skills and experience would he have brought to his presidency? Was he in his brother's shadow?
Robert Kennedy was President John Kennedy's most powerful political 'consigliere'. As attorney general – an office he used to pursue his long-standing campaign against organised crime – his influence stretched across all foreign and domestic policy. He was, effectively, his brother's deputy and the role immersed him in the country's most urgent problems at home and abroad. But it was the years following JFK's assassination that shaped him more profoundly Often perceived as RFK's 'wilderness period' – out of power and crippled by mourning – between 1964 and 1967 he transformed from ruthless back-room fixer to passionate revolutionary who spoke out against racial and economic injustice.

What, if any, differences would he have brought to US foreign policy?
One word encapsulates the changes RFK would have made: Vietnam. He was not the only candidate arguing for an end to the war – his progressive-wing rival for the Democratic Presidential nomination, Senator Eugene McCarthy, had championed that cause long before RFK got in the race. But Robert Kennedy's determination was just as great: in February 1968 he publicly promised to halt the meat grinder consuming thousands of young American lives, arguing that "the best way to save our most precious stake in Vietnam – the lives of our soldiers – is to stop the enlargement of the war, and that the best way to end casualties is to end the war." Had he fulfilled that pledge, the war would have ended six years sooner – saving countless US and Vietnamese lives – and neither Cambodia or Laos would have suffered the large scale carpet-bombing sanctioned by Richard Nixon from 1969 onwards.

Interview by David J Williamson. **Main image source:** © Alamy, © Getty Images

The Past

1961-63

Power Behind the Throne

As attorney general in his brother's administration, RFK was a combination of back-room enforcer, personal shield and presidential advisor. Directly involved with the Soviets in the negotiations over the Cuban Missile Crisis, he had been the one to successfully advise a blockade of Cuba rather than the more confrontational option of invasion. But wielding such power so close to the president came with its dangers. By the time his chance for presidency came, there were those who felt aggrieved by the way they'd been treated, ready to ensure his ride would not be smooth.

1963-68

His Own Man

Following JFK's assassination, RFK's political fortunes turned sour. At odds with President Johnson, his influence in the White House evaporated. He entered the Senate to represent New York and, never afraid to voice his views, the gap between him and the administration grew wider. He repeatedly denied he would run for the candidacy against Johnson. But with an escalation in Vietnam, the influence of his wife and friends, rising racial tension, riots and subsequent cover-ups of 'white racism' by the Administration, he believed he shouldn't stand on the sidelines.

APRIL – JUNE 1968

Death of Hope

The year 1968 would see a double tragedy for civil rights in the US. Against a backdrop of running battles in cities between rioters and police, the civil rights activist Dr Martin Luther King Jr was a voice of reason and peaceful protest. He was assassinated on 4 April. By a twist of fate, Robert Kennedy was addressing a crowd in a poor, Black neighbourhood on the same day, and his speech was a eulogy for Dr King and all he stood for. Two months later RFK himself was assasinated and with them both died the hopes of a generation.

The crowd in the Ambassador Hotel celebrated a significant victory

LOS ANGELES
Ambassador Hotel
Kennedy

And if RFK remained true to the spirit of his 'wilderness years' speeches, the United States would have adopted a significantly more hostile approach to countries that oppressed their own citizens. In South America he denounced the military juntas of Argentina and Brazil, and in apartheid-era Cape Town he exhorted South Africa's white students to "build a current which can sweep down the mightiest walls of oppression and resistance."

Would his passion for civil rights and the championing of the poor and minority groups have been a catalyst for change or just sown more division?

The nature of America's political power structures means that presidents can only achieve their aims with the support of Congress. By the time RFK would have entered the Oval Office, segregation-supporting Southern Democrats were moving further away from their party and closer to the Republicans. Although the tide of history was against them they could have posed an obstacle to a more ambitious programme to enfranchise minority groups. However, earlier in the 1960s RFK had adopted – and championed – an innovative approach towards empowering deprived communities. Coupled with his willingness to recognise the fears of white America and his determination to confront the scourge of racial discrimination, it is a reasonable bet that his presidency would have achieved significant progress.

How would he have tackled corruption and organised crime?

There is little doubt that as president RFK would have continued his crusade against organised crime. As chief Democrat counsel in the 1950s televised Senate investigations into the Mafia and its placemen in America's unions, he helped expose violent extortion and endemic corruption by union leaders, some of whom had skimmed millions from the pension funds of ordinary workers to support their extravagant lifestyles. And the hearings also revealed close links between union bosses and the Mafia: what RFK would later call "a conspiracy of evil."

His efforts to break this conspiracy continued throughout his time as JFK's attorney general, and by 1968 he had begun to question the official account of JFK's murder, promising privately to re-open the investigation. There is significant evidence that had he done so, evidence of organised crime links – at the very least – to the murder would soon have emerged, further spurring his determination to tackle the webs of corruption that supported these racketeers.

As president who would have been RFK's greatest supporters, and greatest critics, and why?

I began investigating Robert Kennedy's assassination in 1988, first for a documentary then for my 2018 book. Over 30 years I interviewed many of those who worked with RFK and many of those who opposed him. What struck me throughout was the extreme polarisation of opinion. People either loved him passionately or loathed him wholeheartedly: there was simply no middle ground.

His greatest supporters were the poor and dispossessed: those whose lives were blighted by racial and economic injustice – the victims of America's unequal concentration of wealth and power. From the families he met, barely existing in shacks across the South, to those trying to survive in the urban slums of the north, to the California farm workers whose strikes and demands for economic justice RFK championed: these were RFK's most passionate believers.

His enemies were – as he once noted – almost too numerous to count: as he remarked to a reporter, "You won't have any trouble finding my enemies. They're all over town." The political powerbrokers in Washington DC – Republican and Democrat alike – distrusted him, at best. The CIA had not forgiven him (or JFK) for their hostility in the wake of the Bay of Pigs; meanwhile FBI Director J Edgar Hoover

Minutes after his victory speech RFK was mortally wounded

Kennedy campaigned passionately about civil rights and equality

loathed RFK and had plotted against him. Across the United States, his championing of civil rights, racial justice and the plight of America's farm workers attracted the loathing of segregationists, white supremacists and some of the country's major agricultural leaders, while organised crime – both the Mafia and its allies in corrupt labour unions – were sworn foes.

When he was assassinated, how likely were his chances to become president?

Victory in the California primary did not guarantee RFK the nomination as the Democrat's candidate in the 1968 general election, but it went a very long way towards it. To beat Hubert Humphrey for the prize would require a floor fight and the support – far from certain – of an overwhelming majority of delegates and power brokers at the party's Convention in Chicago. But even if he triumphed there, would he have beaten the likely Republican nominee, Richard Nixon, and been elected to the Oval Office? His supporters were – and remain – in no doubt and their view is endorsed by academic historians of America's presidency. To them, especially in the troubled and violent year of 1968, with America torn apart by race and poverty riots and with public anger at the ever-more catastrophic Vietnam War exploding on to the streets, Robert Kennedy alone seemed to be the candidate promising radical change – both at home and abroad.

That assessment was shared by RFK's opponents: during the course of my research, I located numerous long-suppressed LAPD and FBI reports and witness interviews. Each contained explicit threats by identified RFK enemies; each recognised that if he won in California he would win the general election – and that therefore he had to be eliminated.

What future events in US and/or world history may have changed with Robert Kennedy as president?

The question 'what if?' is difficult for historians, and even more so for journalists. Counter-factual history – essentially seeking to understand an alternative path of human events had a single incident not taken place – is ineluctably coloured by the hopes of those who dare to risk the exercise. Above all, it is fraught with hazards since events never occur in isolation and simply removing one bump in the historical road does not automatically preclude the changes that it caused. In particular, it is almost impossible to assess accurately what Congress would have done with – or to – an RFK presidency. In a first term, let alone a potential second four years, would the Democrats have continued to control the Senate and House of Representatives? And even if they did, would Washington's long-nurtured hostility to Robert Kennedy have obstructed him?

Given a fair wind, it is certainly arguable that the United States would not have endured the traumas of Watergate and the shooting of students at Kent State University; had RFK won, Richard Nixon would have almost certainly never again wielded political power. Internationally, US support for despotic regimes would have been less of a global cancer.

Domestically, RFK was the last national leader able to command real trust from both substantial cross-sections of white and African American citizens. A Robert Kennedy presidency could well have moved the divided country significantly towards reducing the racial and economic injustice that still blights it today.

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The Possibility

1969-73

Bob v The Mob

RFK was no stranger to confrontation when it came to organised crime and the exploitation of workers. Union boss Jimmy Hoffa of the Brotherhood of Teamsters had clashed with him in hearings years before, and the Mafia bosses were also his enemies. RFK's passion for integrity and transparency in politics was heartfelt, and there can be little doubt that his commitment for justice would have spilled over into his presidency. RFK's war on corruption would have continued, but this time with added presidential power.

1969

No More 'Nam

The pivotal issue overseas would have been the Vietnam War. His view of America's place in the world was one of democratic role model, and the war had fractured the nation. By early 1968 there were around 485,000 US troops in Vietnam, and 20,000 had been killed. RFK wanted a peaceful settlement and the troops brought home. Under the new President Kennedy, all of this would have been possible, thousands of lives saved, and America's reputation for civilised common sense established.

1969 – PRESENT

Rights for All

No RFK presidency would have been complete without an overhaul of the rights of all citizens, regardless of the colour of their skin or background. His belief in justice for all was unwavering, but he would need all of his personal grit to battle with an uncompromising system that was afraid of political and social change. Some form of compromise would have been needed, but by setting things in motion, the legacy of an RFK presidency may have been a very different, more integrated and more inclusive society.

What if…

Watergate hadn't been uncovered?

Nixon remaining in power could have led to a different result for the United States in the Vietnam War

On 8 August, 1974, Richard Nixon became the first US President to resign under threat of impeachment as a result of the Watergate scandal. It remains one of the most pivotal moments in the history of US politics. But what if he'd never been caught?

Nixon resigned less than two years after he was re-elected in a landslide victory in 1972. His first term had seen him act as a relatively liberal and progressive Republican. While this seemed like it might continue with the chance of health care reform, the fact he was considering scrapping the Environmental Protection Agency (EPA) lead some to think he might have swung more to the right.

"His intention to whittle down the EPA is often pointed to as a sign that he would have moved in a more conservative direction," Professor Kendrick Oliver from the University of Southampton told us. "[But] there is evidence prior to the election that he was talking with Ted Kennedy about a sort of bipartisan approach to healthcare."

Things may have turned out very differently with the Vietnam War, too. Nixon had inherited this conflict from his predecessor, Lyndon Johnson. While the Paris Peace Accord supposedly brought the conflict to an end in 1973, when US troops withdrew, the Soviet-backed North Vietnamese attacked, ultimately conquering the South in 1975. Had Nixon been in power things might have turned out very differently.

"There are some historians who think that Nixon expected it [the Paris Peace Accord] to fail and intended all along to come back in to Vietnam with a very strong display of air power," said Professor Oliver. "[But] what happens is the Nixon administration is weakened by Watergate to the point that it was never able to get the response to the North Vietnamese incursions in the South, which led eventually to the fall of [South] Vietnam."

Perhaps one of the more interesting things that would have been different, though, was the public's perception of Nixon. While he was never "beloved", notes Professor Oliver, there was a certain air of respect that was eroded by the tapes - made in the White House - linking him to Watergate.

"One of the most embarrassing things for Nixon was the language he used," said Professor Oliver. "There were a lot of references to 'expletive deleted', and it became clear that this man, who sat happily with conservative family values, was swearing quite a lot and could certainly talk a blue streak. He often engaged in anti-Semitic language as well. The tapes revealed this complex and dark character."

Ultimately, though, Nixon's resignation set the Republicans on a very different path to where they are now. After democrat Jimmy Carter surprised everyone by winning the 1976 election, the Republicans shifted considerably to the right, something that might not have happened with a Nixon second term.

"You wouldn't necessarily have seen a scenario in which Ronald Reagan was a successful candidate in 1980," explained Professor Oliver.

How would it be different?

Real timeline

1972

Watergate Hotel
Five men are arrested at the Watergate Hotel on suspicion of trying to bug the offices of the Democratic National Committee.
17 June 1972

Nixon re-elected
Despite being linked to the Watergate break-in, Nixon is re-elected in a massive landslide, winning 60 percent of the vote.
11 November 1972

The tapes
Following an investigation, the existence of Nixon's White House recording system is made public for the first time.
16 July 1973

Real timeline

Nixon's refusal
Nixon does not destroy the tapes but refuses to hand them over to the Senate Watergate committee.
18 July 1973

Impeachment
In an 8-0 ruling, the Supreme Court orders Nixon to turn over the tapes, implicating him in Watergate. Impeachment proceedings begin.
24 July 1974

Alternate timeline

Tapes burned
Before the Senate or Supreme Court can request the tapes, Nixon burns them, destroying any evidence linking him to Watergate. **18 July 1973**

Aides jailed
Although some of Nixon's closest aides are jailed, the president himself emerges from the Watergate scandal largely unscathed.
August 1973

EPA scrapped
Nixon axes the Environmental Protection Agency (EPA) three years after its formation due to fears it was growing too powerful. **February 1974**

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PROFESSOR KENDRICK OLIVER

Kendrick Oliver is a professor of American history and also director of The Centre for Imperial and Post-Colonial Studies at the University of Southampton. He specialises in the history of the US from 1945-1980, particularly modern political, social and cultural issues.

President Ford
Gerald Ford becomes president, having served eight months as vice president. He causes controversy when he pardons Nixon for any crimes.
9 August 1974

Spring Offensive
With little US resistance, North Vietnam invades the South, ultimately leading to the Spring Offensive and the Fall of Saigon in 1975.
December 1974

Carter elected
Jimmy Carter pulls off an unlikely victory and becomes the 39th president of the United States, running his campaign on an anti-Watergate ticket.
2 November 1976

Ronald Reagan elected
Ronald Reagan becomes US president after crushing Jimmy Carter – seeking a second term – by 489 Electoral College votes to 49.
4 November 1980

Trump
Donald Trump defies all the odds to become US president, riding on a wave of conservative values in the Republican Party.
8 November 2016

US re-enters Vietnam
Attempts by the North Vietnamese to expand into the South are met with swift air resistance ordered by President Nixon.
December 1974

No Spring Offensive
With a resurgent US, there is no Spring Offensive in Vietnam. The South never falls, and the North and South remain divided.
April 1975

Carter fails
Jimmy Carter loses his presidential election bid, with many voters citing his inexperience in office as a main cause for concern.
2 November 1976

Second term ends
Nixon ends his successful second term, leaving a Republican Party largely more liberal than it is in reality today.
20 January 1977

Reagan who?
With the Republican Party now leaning more towards the left, Ronald Reagan never gets the chance to run for president.
1980

Democrats in disarray
Struggling with a progressive Republican party, the Democrats are forced to shift ever more to the left.
1984

Trump trumped
Without the rise of more right-wing views in the Republican Party, Donald Trump never becomes the 45th president of the United States. **2016**

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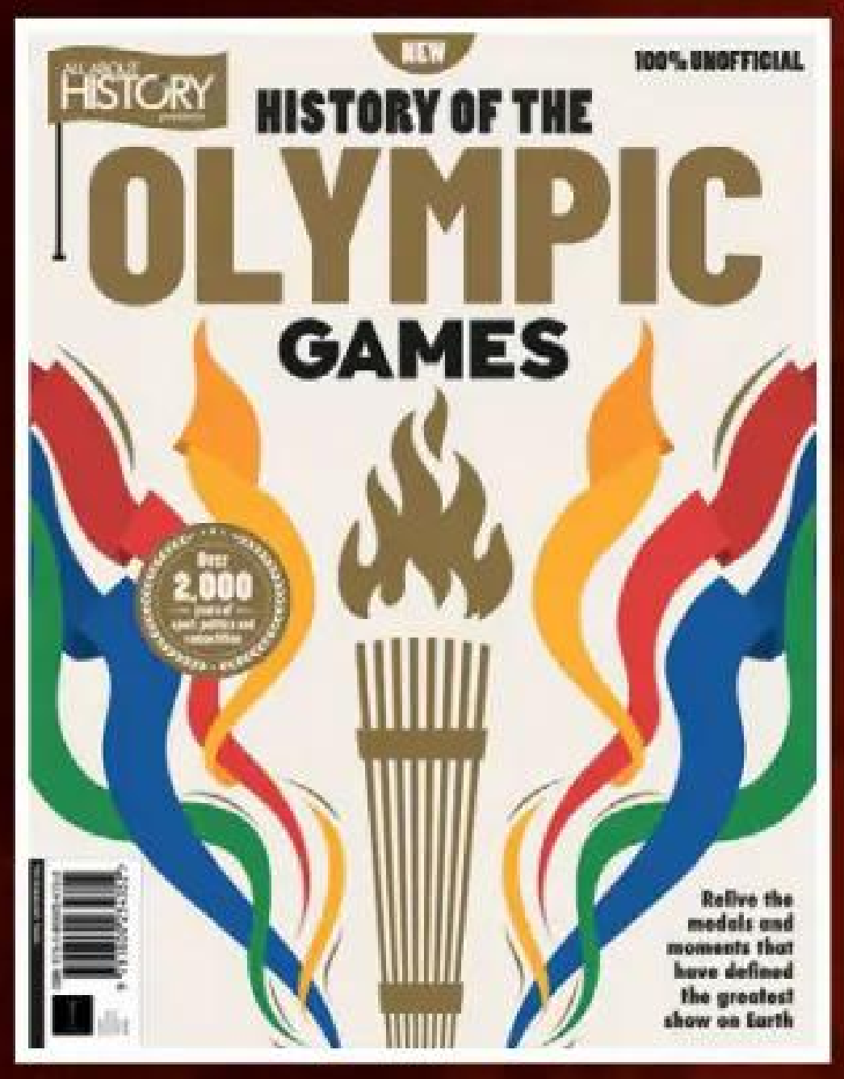
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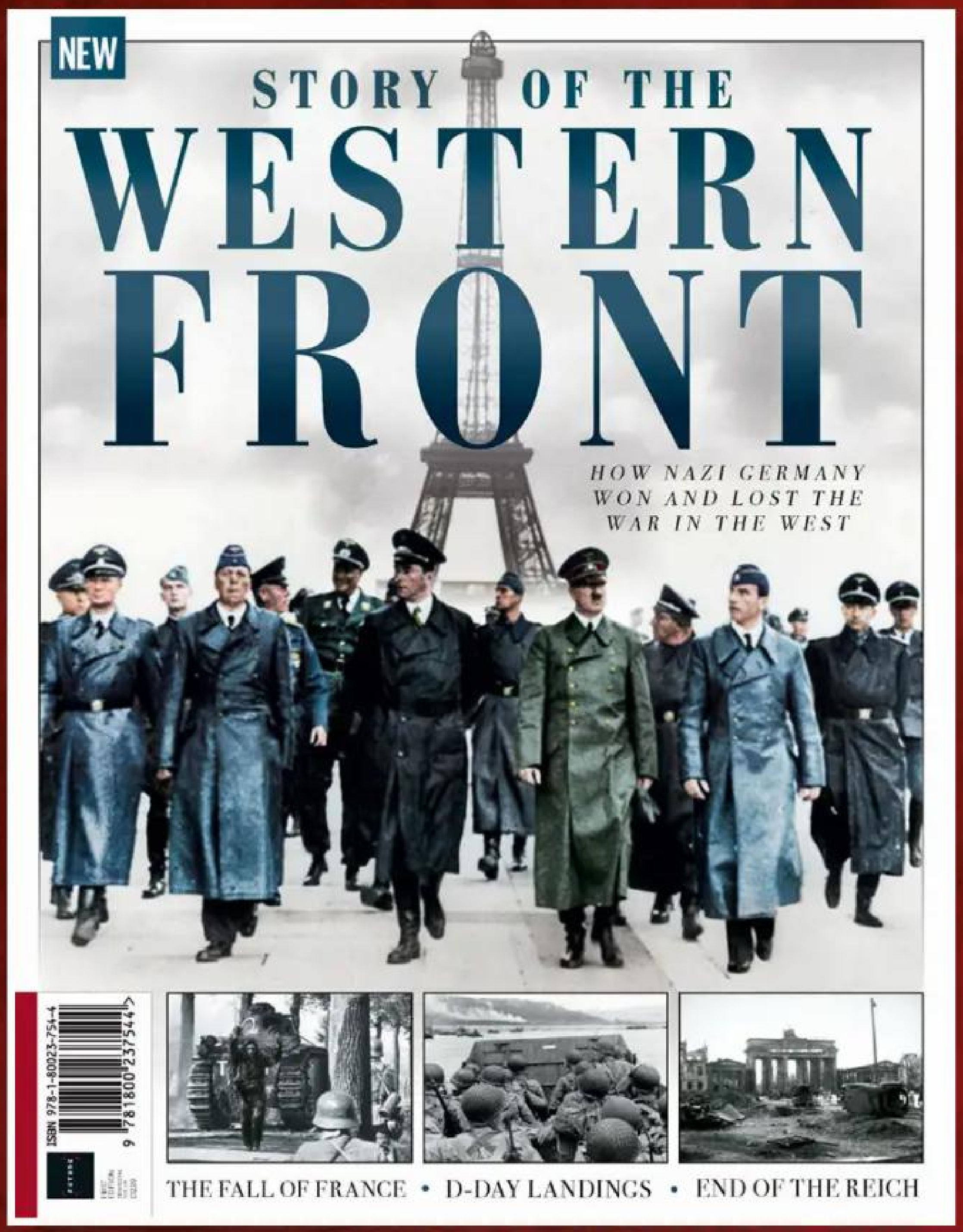
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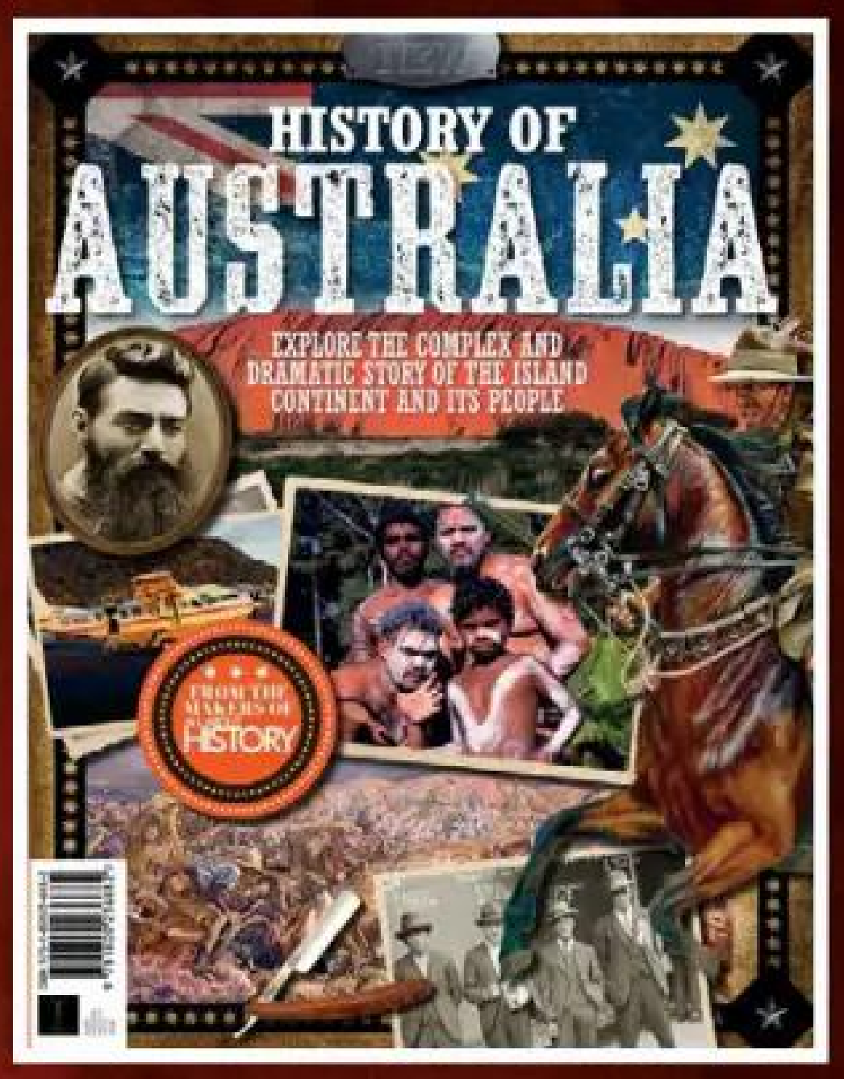
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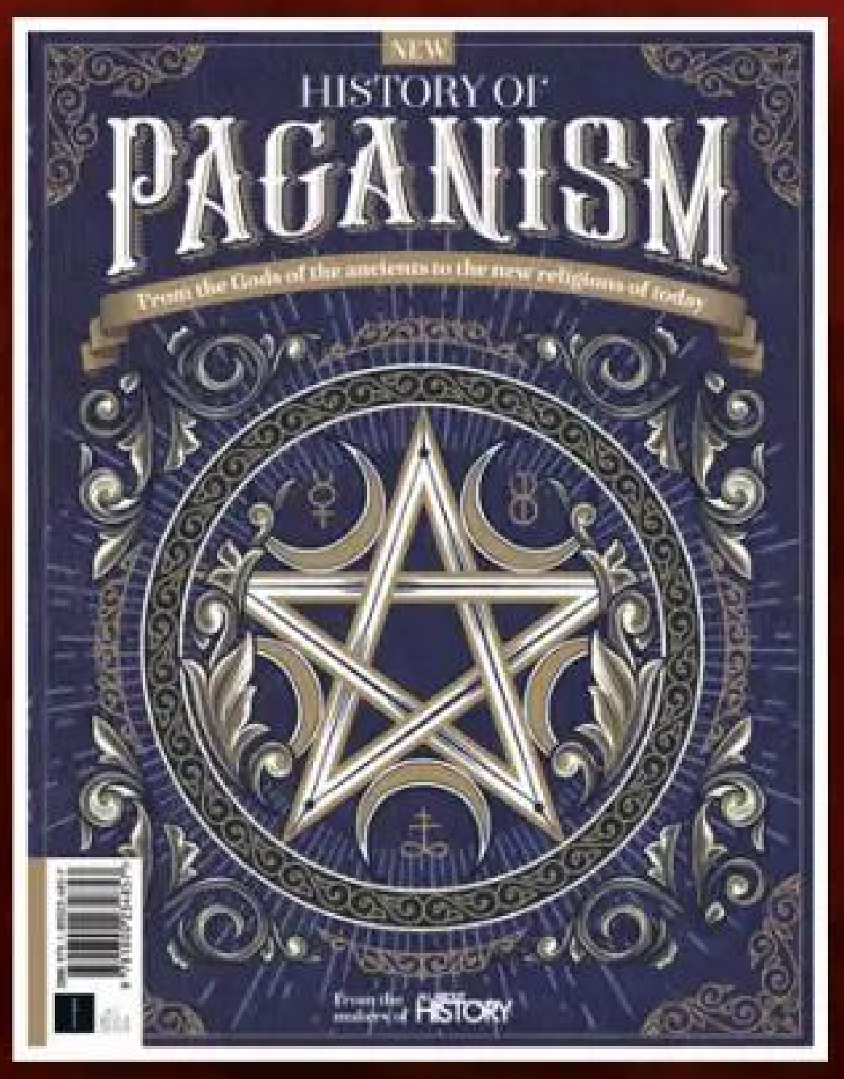
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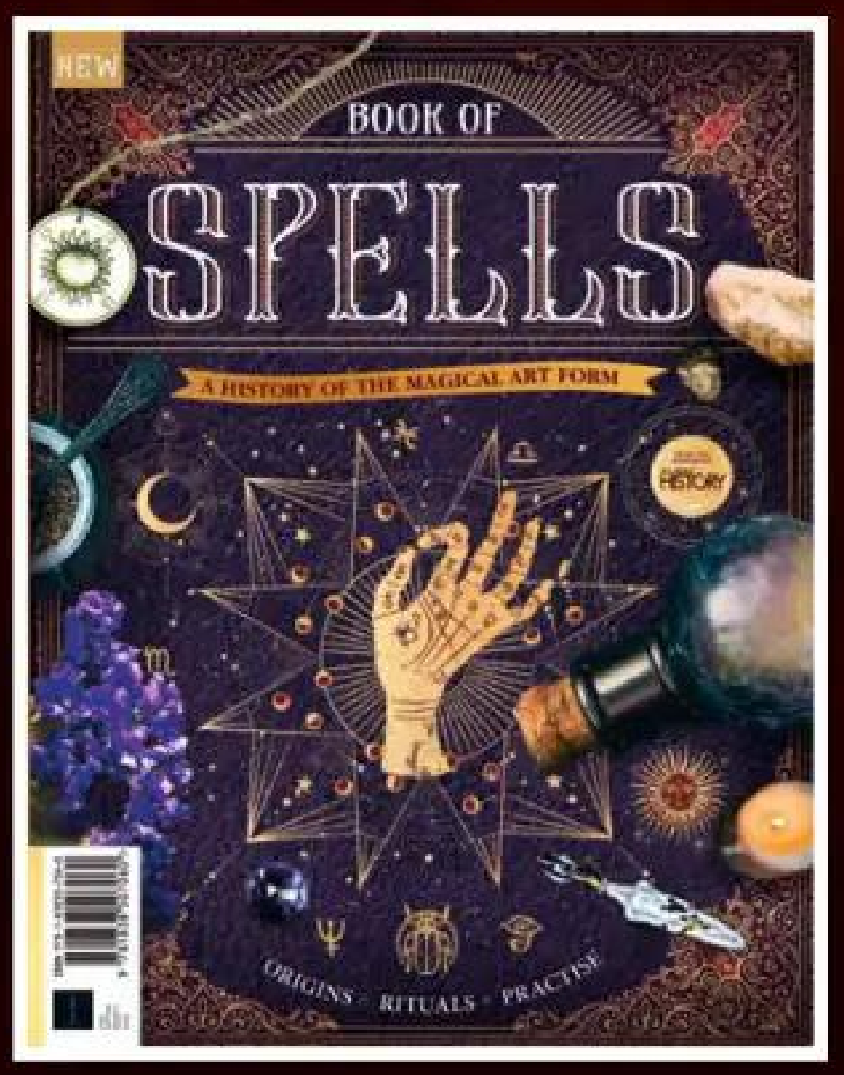
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10th to 18th Century

What if...

The Vikings had colonised North America?

Viking settlements may have flourished centuries before the arrival of European colonisers

What if...

THE VIKINGS HAD COLONISED NORTH AMERICA?

"There might have been a kind of 'United States', but Norwegian- or Swedish-speaking"

10th to 18th Century

What if...

Britain had won the War of Independence?

Would the American colonies have remained in the British Empire, or would rebellion have flared again?

What if...

BRITAIN HAD WON THE WAR OF INDEPENDENCE?

"I don't see how London could have avoided extending far greater autonomy"

20th Century

What if...

JFK hadn't been assassinated?

How would world history have changed if the 35th president of the United States had lived?

What if...

JFK HADN'T BEEN ASSASSINATED?

"By the time he would have served a second term no one knows how his health would have been"

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What would the US look like today if the Vikings had colonised North America?

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Discover whether the American colonies would have remained in the British Empire

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